FBIS DAILY REPORT

CONTENTS

Eastern Europe

Vol II No 124

29 June 1981

ALBANIA

People's Assembly Begins Civil Code Proceedings B 1
Proceedings Continue B 4
AWP Organ Discusses Shift to Total State Property B 6
[RRUGA E PARTISE Issue No. 5, 1981]

BULGARIA

Attacks Against 'True' Polish Communists Scored [Nakov] C 1
NATO Involved in Polish Counterrevolutionary Activity C 2
[Batkov in OTECHESTVEN FRONT 23 Jun]
Zhivkov, Filipov Policy Letter to National Assembly C 3
[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 18 Jun]

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Developments in Polish Situation Reported, Criticized D 1
Milosz' Return Questioned D 1
[RUDE PRAVO 23 Jun]
PZPR Voivodship Meetings
'Highly Dangerous Position' D 1
Grabski Poznan Speech Cited D 2
FRANCE-SOIR on CSSR Reaction to Polish Crisis D 3
[Corre, 10 Jun] D 3
Prague Views Rostow Appointment, Poznan Forum
Milos Jakes Meets Yuriy Brezhnev in Prague D 7
Turkish Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit 28 Jun D 9
Trade Union Delegation Departs for Budapest D 9
Syrian Ba'th Delegation Arrives on Official Visit D 9
Briefs: Agreement With GDR; Utilization of Solar Energy D 9
D 9

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Composition of New Council of Ministers Announced E 1
Ministers Sworn In E 2
Honecker Appoints Generals of the People's Police E 3
[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 24 Jun]
ADN Reviews Budget Accounting for 1980 E 3
Troops Constructing Tunnel Under Border Positions [DPA] E 3

POLAND

Warsaw Reports Planned Visit by Gromyko in July G 1
Further Reportage on Voivodship Conferences G 1
Jaruzelski at Katowice G 1
Grudzien, Others Expelled G 1
Jaruzelski Katowice Speech G 3
Zabinski Elected Delegate G 13
Katowice Delegates Elected G 14
Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Konin Meet G 14
Kania at Warsaw Conference G 14
Kania Supports Kociolek G 15
Kania Speech G 15

Ballot Results G 19
Response to Moscow Message G 19
Warsaw Conference Continues G 19
Olszowski Elected Delegate G 20
Conference Begins G 20
Grabski, Ciupa To Be Delegates G 20
Grabski's Konin Remarks G 21
More on Grabski Remarks G 22
Barcikowski, Others in Wroclaw G 22
Porebski Elected First Secretary G 23
Expulsion Requested G 30
Bydgoszcz Conference G 30
Program Report, Discussion G 31
Rakowski Remarks Reported G 32
Elected Congress Delegates G 33
Jablonski Remarks G 33
More on Jablonski G 34
Ney, Czyrek in Rzeszow G 34
Rzeszow, Lublin Continue G 35
Delegates Elected G 35
Ney Addresses Rzeszow G 36
Jagielski at Lublin Conference G 36
Lublin Conference Ends G 36
Secretary Elected G 37
More on Gdynia G 37
Przemysl Party Conference G 37
Walbrzych Party Conference G 37
Poznan Party Conference G 38
Grabski Speech in Poznan G 38
Lodz Congress Delegates Meet G 39
Officials Speak at Accountability Election Sessions [TRYBUNA LUDU 22 Jun] G 39
Cypryniak Foresees Struggle [TRYBUNA LUDU 23 Jun] G 40
Party To Invite Representatives to Congress [AFP] G 41
TRYBUNA LUDU Discusses Party's Social Character G 42
Warsaw Comments on Implementation of Party Reform G 42
Walesa Says Solidarity Will Not Be Political Party G 43
Walesa Says Time of Confrontation Is Over G 43
Solidarity Elections Concluded in Mazowsze Region G 43

ROMANIA

Solidarity Conference Delegation Sees Al-Ahmar H 1
Oil Conventions Signed With Mexico in Bucharest H 1
GNA Chairman Has Talks With Italian Officials H 1
Ceausescu Receives Swedish Minister of Industry H 2
People's Council's Congress Continues 26 Jun H 2
Ceausescu Visits Agricultural Research Institute H 2

YUGOSLAVIA

Polish Foreign Minister Arrives on Visit I 1
Ljubicic's Talks With Hungary's Czinege End I 1
Statement Issued on Turkish Minister's Visit I 1
Sundic Comments on External Pressures on PZPR I 2
TANJUG Comments on Soviet Concern Over Poland I 3
TANJUG Views Effects of Kosovo Disturbances I 4
Kosovo Presidium Discusses Action Program I 5
Kosovo Trade Union Council Discusses Program Elects New President I 6
Pristina Assembly Discusses Struggle Against Enemy Forces I 6
Pristina Communists Name New President I 6
Djakovica Communists Acting Against Counterrevolution I 7

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY BEGINS CIVIL CODE PROCEEDINGS

AU261700 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Jun 81

[Text] The Seventh Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania began its proceedings [in Tirana] at 1700 on 25 June. Apart from the deputies, taking part in this session are workers of production and work centers, cooperativists, soldiers and others. The deputies and others welcomed and applauded the entry into the Presidium of Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; Mehmet Shehu, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; and also Comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Spiro Koleka, Kadri Hasbiu, Hekuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Rita Marko, Pali Miska, Haki Toska, Qirjako Mihali, Pilo Peristeri, Shefqet Peci, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Government.

Comrade Simon Stefani, People's Assembly Presidium chairman, declared the session open. Before beginning the proceedings of this session he proposed a one minute silence in commemoration of Comrade Spiro Moisiu, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. The deputies rose and honored his memory.

The proceedings of this session have the following agenda:

1. Approval of the draft civil code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania;

2. Approval of the draft civil procedure code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania;

3. Approval of the draft law amending the labor code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania;

4. Approval of the draft law amending Law No 4,171 of 13 February 1966 on social and state security, and Law No 4,976 of 29 June 1972 on pensions of agricultural cooperative members;

5. Approval of the draft law amending Law No 4,624 of 24 December 1969 on the new educational system; and

6. Approval of a decree issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

After approval of the agenda Comrade Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers took the floor to present, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, the report on the draft civil code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the draft civil procedure code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which are the first and second items on the agenda.

[Begin recording] "Dear comrades, [words indistinct] and according to the Seventh AWP Congress and the Central Committee Politburo, the Council of Ministers presents to this session of the People's Assembly for discussion and approval the draft civil code and the draft civil procedure code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. This People's Assembly session is being held at a time when the working class, cooperativist peasantry and all the working masses of our country, under the glorious party's leadership with Enver Hoxha at the head, have been mobilized with great political enthusiasm to meet the 40th anniversary of our party's creation and the Eighth AWP Congress with great achievements [words indistinct]. They are mobilized for more successes in fulfilling the 1981 tasks, the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, which relies completely on our own forces. An important role has also been played by the civil, legislative civil code and civil procedure code in the great struggle waged by our people led by the party in building socialism. These have served to strengthen judicial relations in our socialist economy. They have a judicial base for defining [word indistinct] of enterprises, institutions, social organizations, and agricultural cooperatives in the sphere of production, distribution and remuneration." [end recording]

Further on, Comrade Manush Myftiu continued: The deep and revolutionary changes in the economic base, which was determined by strengthening and developing all socialist production relations and wiping out private property by enlarging (?property) relations in some state enterprises and between these and agricultural cooperatives, have dictated the need, according to the Constitution, to draft a new civil code and new civil procedure code. Relations regulated through these codes are clearly defined. The draft civil code and the draft civil procedure code totally comply with Marxist-Leninist ideology, with our party's creative and new scientific idea and with constitutional principles. In this way they correctly reflect the party's economic policy, our revolutionary practice and the experience gained by our state organs in the civil sphere.

The codes openly admit and secure the class character of our civil justice, as opposed to the codes of bourgeois-revisionist countries where everything is done to conceal the class character of their legislation because supposedly they protect everyone's interests equally without class distinction. In reality however, the major content of their codes is constituted by protection of capitalist private property in all ways, the preservation and consolidation of capitalist production relations, the securing of profit and so on. Our draft civil code is divided into two parts: the general part and the specific part. Besides the major ideological principles mentioned above, the civil code tasks are given in the general part. This defines that its aim is to serve complete socialist construction according to the principle of self-reliance, and to better fulfill citizens' material and cultural needs.

Closely connected with this and with the preservation of the country's economic independence, without which there cannot be political independence, the draft code also reflects the provisions of the Constitution according to which the granting of concessions is prohibited in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Also prohibited are the creation of companies and other economic-financial foreign institutions or those combined with capitalist bourgeois-revisionist monopolies as is taking credits from them

After speaking about the role of economic enterprises in strengthening socialist property, strengthening the defense potential and raising the working masses' well-being, Manush Myftiu said: An important place in the draft is occupied by the institution of property. As is known, since the first decree on property in 1955, property has undergone great changes in our country. Socialist property, including the means of production, became predominant in the city and countryside in its two forms. The national economy was completely changed into a socialist economy. Derived from this major socioeconomic situation, the draft civil code reflects the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principle anchored in the Constitution that the base of our economic order and system of socialist production relations is constituted by both the state and cooperative form of socialist public ownership of the means of production.

The draft firstly sanctions the unity of all social property, declaring that its sole owner is the state of proletarian dictatorship and that the enterprises and institutions have only the right of administration. The draft for the two forms of socialist property in the draft civil code has the aim of guaranteeing its inviolability as the base of all our social order, to guarantee its socialist nature and prevent its capitalist degeneration.

After pointing out the differences between the Marxist-Leninist and capitalist concepts of property, Manush Myftiu said: Comrade Enver has said in his great work "Imperialism and the Revolution" that state monopoly property represents a capitalist state's property, the property of the ruling bourgeois class. Even in countries where modern revisionists rule, property, whatever its outward form or the labels the revisionists may give it, is a capitalist state's property in substance, belonging to the revisionist bourgeoisie which holds political power.

The draft civil code, based on the Constitution, also treats the institution of personal property, which is the fruit of the workers' socially beneficial work--it is protected by law, but it cannot be used to the detriment of social interest. Also connected with personal property, which is protected by the state, is the institution of inheritance. According to our conditions, the draft civil code, as opposed to the existing civil legislation, no longer treats the institution of inheritance as a special part, but is mentioned as one of the means of acquiring property. According to these provisions there is the right of legal inheritance or through a will. The provisions of the draft civil code will help to reinforce the system of contracts, and as the party has continually emphasized, the state and economic organs should resolutely work for the understanding and evaluation of contracts as an important means of fulfilling the state's plans; for defining mutual tasks and state tasks in connection with production, quality, variety, distribution, the movement of products and good transportation and so forth. This must be done because the contracts are in the last analysis the concretization and materialization of planned tasks.

Constant improvement in the workers' housing is a concern for the party and state organs. The large increase of housing constructed in the city and countryside by the state has caused problems in their administration. Taking this into consideration, the draft code deals extensively with rent contracts. As opposed to the existing legislation, the housing fund, which will be regulated through rent contracts, includes all state housing in the city and countryside and also houses which are personal property in the city and to which the owners can rent wholly or partially Illegal rent taking by individual citizens is thus prohibited through this regulation.

In order to implement the party policy of the total equality of marriage partners, the draft stipulates that savings deposits in the name of one partner will become the property of both partners, in connection with the idea of combined wealth. Thus, the existing provisions according to which savings deposits were considered as belonging only to the person named, will be rescinded.

Naturally the implementation of important tasks and new legislation cannot be achieved through judicial means alone. Political, ideological and organizational work of the state organs and social organizations has an important role in this. Besides the major prinicples of the new draft code, the understanding, duty and position of the court, attorneys, the judicial assistance office [words indistinct] and other persons who participate in the civil procedure are better defined. For the first time, the state organs and social organizations are given the duty of carrying out preventive work to avoid civil misunderstanding. This duty falls on the members of People's Councils in the first place and also members of their executive committees and activists in social organizations. In this way, the party's teaching is legislated, in other words the state organs and mass organizations should be at the front of the struggle in preventing civil problems. The draft civil procedure code reflects our judiciary's experience that cases should be tried promptly without damaging justice, as opposed to the codes of bourgeois-revisionist countries where judicial processes are unnecessarily prolonged. Here it stipulates both parties' duty to testify and present proof at the beginning of the trial, so that it can be completed on schedule. In executing judgements, too, the draft procedure code stipulates that the responsible judicial officer execute his duties to the benefit of the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and social organizations. Yet this does not exclude the duty of the enterprises, institutions, agricultural cooperatives and others that they continually carry out their obligations.

According to the draft code, the people's council executive committees have the duty to take all necessary measures to secure the required fund for housing so that those judicial decisions concerned with the right of housing are implemented in good time. In order to deepen the struggle against bureaucracy, in the draft civil procedure code a number of various outdated dispositions have been rescinded.

Others have been rescinded because they were a hindrance to a more simple and fast judgement of civil cases. The civil code will be simplified to 354 articles from 1,000, which it has presently. The draft civil procedure code will have 225 articles, instead of 500.

Concluding, Manush Myftiu said: The approval of these two codes gives the central and district state organsan important duty in making known and propagandizing them, and also in implementing them. Comrade Enver Hoxha said in his speech in the Presidium of the People's Assembly on 26 April 1980 that the state organs should better organize their work so that every worker will know those dispositions which regulate relations related to work, and his rights and duties toward enterprises, institutions or toward each other. This requires a systematic, differentiated, careful and coordinated work also for knowing the civil code and civil procedure code. The approval of the draft civil code and draft civil procedure code as laws which reflect our revolutionary experience, which express the party's policy and the interests of our working class and other workers is another important victory in the direction of perfecting out legislation. Thus, I invite you, Comrade deputies, to approve them unanimously.

On behalf of the judicial commission, Aranit Cela, chairman of the commission, presented the report for both draft codes, saying among other things: Comrade Enver says that the law in itself cannot bring social development. It is a reflection of this development and has the aim of regulating and helping this development. This advice by Comrade Enver, along with other advice on the theoretical and methodological role of historical materialism for the social and juridical sciences, have led to the drafting of the civil codes and civil procedure codes which are presented for approval. The draft civil code has reflected those principles relating to civil relations and regulations to examine and resolve misunderstandings in these relations. After talking about property relations of society based on the socialist property of the means of production, and about contracts, which are treated as an important means of implementing the party's economic policy, Comrade Aranit Cela pointed out that the civil code will comprehensively reinforce economic relations between enterprises, institutions and agricultural cooperatives on the basis of duties defined by the single state plan. One of the particulars of this legislation is its preservation of personal property, which, under true socialism is used only to fulfill the material and cultural needs of the individual and his family and cannot be a source of exploitation or appropriation of the work of others. There is no branch of our socialist justice where the great principle of judicial [word indistinct] does not operate. The constitutional principle that all citizens are equal before the law is made concrete by the norms of these draft codes. The drafting of these codes in accordance with the seventh AWP Congress, will naturally strengthen our state of proletarian dictatorship, the further development of socialism in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Concluding, Aranit Cela said that the juridical commission [passage indistinct]. We finally found both draft codes suitable and invited you to unanimously approve them. The first session was concluded.

Proceedings Continue

AU261851 Tirana Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Summary] "The second sitting of the Seventh Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly of the Peoples' Socialist Republic of Albania opened this morning at 0900. In this sitting, the deputies debated the draft civil code and draft civil procedure code, a report on which was delivered at the first sitting held yesterday by Manush Myftiu on behalf of the Council of Ministers."

The first speaker to address the People's Assembly was Pilo Peristeri, deputy from Pogradec District. He stressed the open class nature of the two draft codes and the fact that Marxist-Leninist ideology runs through them. "This is not merely a statement," he declares, "but a reality deriving from the construction of socialism in Albania."

The next speaker was Sihat Tozaj, deputy representing Vlore District, who stated that the two draft codes are a "concentrated reflection of the comprehensive interests of the working people" and an "original juridical act, because it is in conformity only with our socioeconomic order, our socialist state, and differs radically from any other civil codes in bourgeois-revisionist capitalist countries."

Minister of Communal Economy Rrapo Dervishi stressed the importance of the draft codes in defining the duties of the working people in this sector and in serving the people. The next speaker was Drita Prenci, deputy from Lezhe District, who pointed out the importance of the new codes for the workers of the judicial and state organs, as well as the social organizations, in carrying out their work and particularly in preventing civil disagreements between citizens, and in the education of citizens in the spirit of socialist legality. Deputy Viktor Nushi, minister of internal trade, said that "it is important to deeply implant in the minds of the working people of the trade sector and all cadres that contracts in general, and particularly sale and supply contracts, are not only important juridical acts concretely reflecting the party's economic policy concerning the purposes of production, but also serve to perfect the relations between producers and consumers with regard to the fulfillment of plans in quantity, quality and timeliness, as well as to improve supplies to the population.. The next speaker to address the assembly was Drita Haxhija, deputy from Gramsh District, who stressed the importance of the codes in avoiding civil disagreements in accordance with the party's policy to strengthen the unity of the people.

"The new draft civil procedure code submitted to the assembly for examination," stated Lumturi Rexha, deputy from Tirana District, "is an important step on the road to constantly perfecting our socialist legislature on the basis of the historic decisions of the seventh AWP Congress and in the new constitution." Pointing out the importance of the new codes in defining the tasks of the People's Councils and social organizations in preventing civil disagreements or in resolving them promptly, she went on to say: "While the sphere of activity of the various social organizations is constantly being extended in Socialist Albania, which is another testimony to the further deepening of the democratic nature of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the opposite takes place in the revisionist countries, where the sphere of activity of the state organs is being extended, while that of the so-called social organizations is being restricted. The latest example of this is provided by the tragic event in Kosovo, where the power organs of the revisionist Yugoslav state used tanks and machineguns against demonstrators, although it applies to itself the label of a humanitarian ocialism.

The last speaker to address the assembly was Lefter Goga, deputy from Shkoder District, who stressed the importance of both codes in protecting socialist relations and property. He pointed out the growing role of the People's Councils in checking on the implementation of plans and contracts.

"When the debate ended, the People's Assembly went on to approve the draft codes. First, the assembly proceeded to approve the draft civil code of the people's Socialist Republic of Albania in principle. After its approval on principle, the assembly proceeded to approve the draft code article by article, up to article 222. The sitting was then adjourned. "The third sitting opened at 1700. It proceeded with the reading of the draft civil code, which was then approved as a whole. The civil code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania was approved unanimously by the deputies." "The assembly then proceeded with the approval of the draft civil procedure code in principle and then with its reading article by article. The reading of this draft code proceeded up to article 90. The sitting was then adjourned. The next sitting will take place tomorrow morning at 0800."

AWP ORGAN DISCUSSES SHIFT TO TOTAL STATE PROPERTY

AU251355 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian issue No. 5, 1981 p 24-31

[Munir Como Article: "The Development of Cooperative Property Prepares the Conditions for its Transformation Into the Property of All Society"]

[Excerpts] The construction of socialism's economic base also in the countryside, which was realized through agricultural collectivization, marked one of the socialist revolution's most important historical achievements in our country. But the party has always emphasized that building socialism in the countryside is a continual and manysided process that is not completed once its economic base is built. Socialist society's complete construction is organically tied, with, among other things, developing and strengthening socialist cooperative property, continually perfecting socioeconomic relations and preparing conditions for changing cooperative property into property belonging to all society.

The AWP has devoted special concern to the problem of developing social property in its two forms in socialism. Generalizations and highly valuable theoretical and practical conclusions have been made in many party documents and Comrade Enver Hoxha's works dealing with the question that building socialism in the countryside cannot be completed by establishing socialist collective property nor by uniting and enlarging agricultural cooperatives, or even by creating higher type cooperatives; but that these processes are a phase in reinforcing and deepening the characteristics that are common to both socialist cooperative property and socialist property belonging to the whole society, within the sphere of deepening the socialization of production means and continually perfecting socialist production relations in the countryside in general. These processes are a phase in gradually preparing conditions for changing collective property into all society's property on a voluntary basis.

The process for creating conditions to change cooperative property into all society's property is not a sudden or simply mechanical process. On the contrary it is a long and complex process that requires comprehensive preliminary measures and must be accomplished step by step in an organized, controlled and aware way through the party and socialist state's direction. It is not achieved by overthrowing cooperative property or negating it, nor even through administrative measures alone, but through qualitatively and quantitatively developing productive forces and perfecting socialist production relations in the cooperative sector, and also through ideopolitical convictions and the cooperativists' free will to change it into all society's property.

The preparation of economic, social and organizational conditions in particular cooperatives and zones has a special importance. Comrade Enver Hoxha has taught us that changing cooperative property into all society's property cannot be done at the same time in all cooperatives, but must be done gradually, at first in some of the more developed and stronger cooperatives, then on a district scale until finally it is achieved throughout the whole country. Thus, we will follow an analogous road in this change with that followed in the change from the peasant's small private property into socialist cooperative property, with the understanding that the change into all society's property will be done gradually according to maturing conditions.

Having created agricultural cooperatives, all the party's work has aimed, among other things, to bring closer together cooperative property and all society's property, to create conditions for changing the former into the latter through cooperative property's natural qualitative and quantitative development, and also through developing and reinforcing socialist property belonging to all society.

Just as cooperative property cannot emerge and exist as much without the existence and decisive role of all society's property, it cannot be developed in isolation and cannot deepen its social character without developing and strengthening socialist industry, construction, transport and agricultural state sectors; that is, without developing all productive forces and perfecting socialist production relations as a whole.

Our party has continually pursued a correct policy in agricultural cooperatives' economic and organizational development and reinforcement; and in this sphere, it has sought to generally perfect and deepen socialist property relations in order to bring closer together cooperative property and all society's property so that these relations can better comply with that development and create new possibilities to further advance it at a rapid rate. It is a fact that the measures taken, especially during the last 20 years, for completely building socialism in the countryside have served to rapidly develop productive forces in agricultural cooperatives, to comprehensively increase their agricultural and livestock production and to develop and strengthen socialist cooperative property. Testifying to this are the growth of general agricultural production, large investments made by agricultural cooperatives, the growth of their basic means, norms, accumulation and so on. For example, general agricultural production in 1979, compared with 1968, increased by 75 percent: The cooperatives' basic means increased 2.4 times during the last 10 years while norms and accumulation have increased from 24.1 percent in 1975 to 28.8 percent in 1979.

The process of developing, and on this basis, bringing together the cooperative property and that belonging to all society, has been made through many forms and directions. Enlarging agricultural cooperatives and thus raising collective property's scale of socialization through uniting small cooperatives into larger ones has had a manifold influence on this. This measure, having raised work, property and production socialization in cooperatives, has created more suitable conditions for perfecting the organization and direction of work and production according to the experience gained in the state sectors.

Another more advanced step in raising the level of collective property's socialization has been changing certain economically strong lowland cooperatives into higher type cooperatives in which the state, as a representative of all society's property, has become a co-owner through participating in large fundamental investments in these economies as far as possible. And although some cooperatives preserve economic relations typical of cooperative property, the state organs' directing and controlling role in those economies has increased, while the forms of production, work and remuneration organization and direction are close to those in agricultural enterprises. The experience of higher type cooperatives over a number of years has shown that their creation and development is one of the most important means, not only of intensifying and increasing production at a fast rate, but also of preparing concrete conditions for changing collective property into all society's property.

Naturally, processes such as enlarging agricultural cooperatives, creating higher type cooperatives, their economic and organizational development and reinforcement, the collective administration of cooperativist families' livestock, extending vital services in the countryside, and others, do not only prepare objective conditions for changing cooperative property into all society's property by realistically raising the level of cooperative work and property's socialization; but they also prepare subjective conditions for this change by affirming and strengthening cooperativists' concepts and deepening their socialist psychology toward social property, common interests and general well-being.

ATTACKS AGAINST 'TRUE' POLISH COMMUNISTS SCORED

LD271034 Sofia BTA in English 0805 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Sergey Nakov commentary]

[Text] Sofia, 27 Jun (BTA)--The American "propaganda alphabet" places it first among the most effective methods of mass indoctrination. It is called "label sticking". Its essence boils down to having an idea or personality to which or whom a negative label is "stuck" to make the reader reject and denounce it without being familiar with the facts.

"The label sticking" is widely used in the present-day events in Poland by both the internal and the external opponents of real socialism. It is used most of all for discrediting the sober-minded Poles concerned about the fate of their homeland, for discrediting the true communists, including the leading officials of the Polish United Workers Party.

"Hard liners", "orthodox", "conservative", "dogmatic"--these are the epithets used in refering to them. What have they done to deserve them? They have spoken boldly and honestly in defence of Marxist-Leninist positions, of the leading role of the Polish United Workers' Party, of the socialist character of People's Poland, of her indisputable belonging to the socialist community.

The most ferocious attacks are aimed against those communists, leading officials of the Polish United Workers Party, who defend the genuine interests of socialism and of their own nation. The campaign mounted against the Katowice Party Forum which raised a voice of anxiety against the offensive of the counter-revolution and in defence of the Leninist principles, came to testify to the above. For their anxiety and concern and for their frank expression of convictions and views, most of which were later reaffirmed by the 11th plenary session of the CC of the PUWP, the participants in the forum, besides receiving the above-enumerated epithets were accused of being "factionaries" and of having failed to contribute to the unity of the party. The same occurred to the Poznan forum. Such accusations against some of the leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party have continued for weeks now.

If there are still some unconvinced in the fact that the counter-revolutionary forces in Poland are seeking to discredit the party, they must be reminded that the special commission appointed by the sixth plenary session of the CC of the PUWP, established the irrefutable fact that: almost three-fourths of the 17,000 accusations against Polish communists were absolutely groundless.

The scenario is clear--to remove from the leadership of the Polish United Workers' Party and from the party itself the honest, the principle-consistent, the ideologically seasoned and highly experienced cadres, those reliable forces who can and want to oppose the counter-revolution.

All this makes it easier for the counter-revolutionaries, whose present aim now is to disorganize the party from within, to deprive it from the cadres who insist on a principled Marxist-Leninist policy, to vilify them just on the eve of the party's extraordinary congress in order to make the party face the offensive of the forces of opportunism and bourgeois restoration armless and faithless.

The attacks against the consistent Marxist-Leninists in the Polish United Workers' Party are an essential element in the grand attack of the counter-revolutionary forces against the very pillars of socialism.

NATO INVOLVED IN POLISH COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITY

AU252012 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 23 Jun 81 p 3

[Article by Kostadin Batkov, OTECHESTVEN FRONT correspondent in Brussels: "Traces of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] A great variety of "analysis and research material" about the Polish People's Republic has recently been published here in Brussels. Television screens, newspapers and radio are showering streams of words upon people, so that the man in the street of Western Europe is literally submerged by the so-called "Polish wave." A whole tornado of articles, statements and commentaries is invading Western Europe in blatant contradiction to the official declarations of noninterference in Poland's domestic affairs.

Such a campaign is by no means accidental. The great crisis in Poland made it possible for the people's enemies, who previously hid in their trenches, to surface. They are in a hurry to put on the red ribbons of "Solidarity." Old Polish fascist organizations have been revived. The former Polish government in exile even seems to be still "functioning." The goal of the campaign is obvious: to support the anticommunist and counterrevolutionary elements in their struggle against socialism in Poland.

The extremist wing of "Solidarity" has been particularly active in recent months. The Western press, basing itself on facts, has confirmed the existence of illegal channels situated in large West European ports for the transfer of weapons, huge financial means, printing and radio equipment, and so forth, to Poland. It becomes more and more evident that the trail of this purposeful and highly concentrated mass attack against the socialist community leads to NATO headquarters.

For as long as a year, every session, conference or meeting within the framework of the North Atlantic bloc never failed to adopt a provocative resolution, declaration, or communique concerning Poland. The same applies to the EEC. The NATO sessions in Brussels and Rome and even the European councils in Maastricht and Luxembourg have practiced gross interference in the affairs of the Polish People's Republic. The meeting of the European Council, which is now being prepared and scheduled to be held on 29 June 1981 in Luxembourg, is also expected to be a "Polish meeting."

In close cooperation with CIA and with the special services of other NATO member-countries, Brussels is the main coordination center of a powerful overseas "Polish campaign" at NATO headquarters.

All foreign news agencies, newspapers and periodicals are presently being supplied with material against the Polish People's Republic from Brussels. The press reveals that several NATO staffs are engaged in "psychological warfare." The relations existing between the capitalist propaganda machine and these centers eloquently confirm how "objective" and "independent" such reports and analyses on so-called "Polish events" can be.

The close cooperation between NATO centers and the capitalist propaganda machine does not just manifest itself in concocting the "latest news" from Poland. The journalists of large bourgeois dailies are welcome guests at NATO meetings, seminars and symposiums, dealing with the strategy and tactics of "the struggle against communism and socialism." Journalists have even recently been invited as speakers at conferences "pertaining to problems of the socialist way of life." NATO organized a symposium in 1980 dealing with economic reform in socialist countries and particularly in the Polish People's Republic. At that symposium NATO experts worked out the plans to discredit the socioeconomic system in Poland that are now being implemented.

Papers and documents from other similar "conferences" have recently been published. Let us mention a few of them.

A NATO session behind closed doors held in Ottawa was attended by experts who worked out a plan on ideological diversion against the Polish People's Republic and other socialist countries.

A secret meeting was held on a British base in Cyprus during which NATO experts discussed "psychological methods for supplying manipulated information to the population in the Polish People's Republic and in other socialist countries."

A meeting behind closed doors attended by 200 officers from NATO propaganda services was held in Thessaloniki. It was devoted to the "influence of information on man's psyche and its use in creating a favorable atmosphere in Poland".

As we see, along with the nuclear race, a carefully prepared plan to discredit socialist societies is also being implemented.

The capitalist press is now trying to debase and discredit everything that the Polish people have accomplished since World War II. The Polish people's ability to cope with the difficult situation existing in the country is disavowed. The bourgeois dailies in Western Europe are full of slanders and distorted news. The authors of such reports and articles are filled with malicious joy and do not even try to conceal their anti-socialist views.

All this noise and intensified slanderous campaign is aggravating the already complicated situation in Poland. Coded messages are also transmitted over the air as instructions given to the enemies of socialism in the Polish People's Republic. Appeals for anti-socialist changes, to replace the existing social system, to separate the Polish People's Republic from the other socialist countries and setting it in opposition are no longer concealed....

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV POLICY LETTER TO NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU271902 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 81 p 1

[Letter from Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to the chairman of the Eighth National Assembly]

[Text] Comrade chairman, please make public to the Eighth National Assembly the following letter of ours:

Dear Comrade National Assembly deputies, we address ourselves to you--the worthy representatives of our heroic and diligent people--with respect and deep emotion in order to express our most cordial gratitude for the great confidence and high honor accorded to us by appropriately electing us as chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Please accept our genuine gratitude as well as the gratitude of all the members of the State Council and the Council of Ministers for promptly electing the compositions of the State Council and the government as proposed by us.

We want to assure you and the Bulgarian people that the newly elected State Council and Council of Ministers will continue to be guided in their future comprehensive activity by the immediate historical task--building a mature socialist society in our dear fatherland and establishing the prerequisites for a gradual transition period toward communism. Our future work will also be imbued by the party's and people's sound revolutionary traditions, by the cause and example of our great predecessors and by the aspirations and willpower of the citizens of socialist Bulgaria. Care for the prosperity and happiness of the working people and for their material and cultural progress will be a steady command to us. The State Council and the Council of Ministers will sacredly observe the country's fundamental law--the Constitution--and will be guided by the decisions of Bulgaria's supreme organs of power--the National Assembly. We will also spare no efforts to work for the triumph of the Leninist general party April line, developed and enriched by the 12th BCP Congress.

We are aware of the fact that the struggle for safeguarding and strengthening peace is a struggle for life, a struggle for the present and future of each people and for all mankind.

There is no more important, more imminent and more humane task at present than that of eliminating the danger of a nuclear war, of halting the arms race and of safeguarding a lasting world peace. The State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue to follow a consistently peaceful and constructive policy directed toward expanding detente, strengthening security and deepening cooperation among the peoples and countries.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is energetically supporting the peace program as declared by the 26th CPSU Congress. The State Council and Government will spare no efforts to implement this program. The CPSU and the USSR peace program is for us the only reasonable alternative to the course of tension, confrontation and blackmail as adopted by the U.S. and NATO aggressive circles.

The State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria will proceed in their foreign political activity from the formulations of the 12th BCP Congress, according to which we will follow in the Balkans and in Europe a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with the purpose of making the Balkan Peninsula a stable area of detente, understanding and goodneighborliness.

We will contribute to strengthening the cohesion of all progressive and peace-loving countries and forces, and also to raising the prestige and role of the United Nations.

The consistent course toward comprehensive cooperation and drawing Bulgaria closer to the Soviet Union will continue to be a landmark in our foreign policy. We will steadily expand and enrich friendship and cooperation with all fraternal socialist countries, and will continue to contribute to elaborating and following a coordinated foreign policy course with the fraternal socialist countries toward strengthening the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA for the further achievements of real socialism.

Esteemed National Assembly deputies, the 12th BCP Congress most impressively express the ideological-political cohesion of the people around the party's April policy, and set the beginning of an important stage in the socialist development of our country.

The working days and holidays in Bulgaria devoted to the 1,300th jubilee of our state are taking place in an atmosphere of optimism, working upsurge and creative daring.

We assure you that we will tirelessly work for comprehensively meeting the constantly growing material, cultural and social needs of the people on the basis of generally intensifying the national economy and the other public activities. We will consistently implement the new economic approach and its mechanism and we will constantly contribute to further developing and perfecting socialist democracy.

The people have voted us exceptional confidence and assigned great responsibility to us--their envoys to the Eighth National Assembly--to selflessly and purposefully struggle for implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress, to defend and creatively apply and develop the Marxist-Leninist behest and to be loyal to proletarian and socialist internationalism.

On behalf of the State Council and the Council of Ministers, we ceremoniously state to the Eighth National Assembly and to all working Bulgarians that under the leadership of the BCP, which has united and rallied in the Fatherland Front communists, united agrarians and non-party people, we will spare no efforts, knowledge or experience in fulfilling the party's program on building a developed socialist society in our country, for the prosperity of the working people and for the success of our dear fatherland--the People's Republic of Bulgaria!

[Signed] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Sofia, 17 June 1981

DEVELOPMENTS IN POLISH SITUATION REPORTED, CRITICIZED

Milosz' Return Questioned

AU261236 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Jun 81 p 5

[(IH)-signed commentary in the column "A Small Reflection": "Why Did He Return?"]

[Text] Migrant Czeslaw Milosz--who, as an on the whole unknown poet, received through the endeavors of the international reaction and the Vatican the Nobel Prize for literature last year--has now returned to Poland after 30 years.

Milosz migrated to the United States in 1951, after--as a diplomat--he left his country's Paris Embassy. He explained the reasons that led to his betrayal several times; last time he did so in Berkeley, California, where he resides permanently. Shortly before returning to his fatherland, he said: "The reason for my escape was what I knew about Warsaw at the end of 1950. I maintain that any person who would not be horrified and disgusted when looking at the Poland of the 1950-51 period, was not a normal human being. I left simply because I could not stomach it."

With this statement of his, Milosz again presents himself as a sensitive poet. Fortunately, there was a country which provided him with bed and board when the poet's stomach was having so much difficulty at home digesting the arduous postwar reconstruction of his fatherland as well as its national and democratic revolution. Obviously, in return America wanted him to sing its songs. And Milosz does so gladly. For this reason, K.I. Galczynski, one of the greatest Polish poets of this century, wrote a poem about him--the poem for traitors.

In his poem, Milosz says: "Poland is a country to which I will never return!"

He did not keep his word. He has now exploited a suitable moment and returned. His visit was organized by "Solidarity" and the Catholic Church. The Catholic University in Lublin honored him with the title doctor honoris causa. Cardinal Wyszynski was able to write the commencement speech before he died.

In the country of his birth, which he left long ago with such a feeling of revulsion, he is now being shown off by the people from "Solidarity" and the Catholic Church as a sacred cow. I borrowed this comparison from the Polish journalist and encyclopedist E. J. Osmanczyk, who so described two other emigree writers, St. Cato-Mackiewicz and M. Wankowicz, some time ago. And he also wrote about them something that today applies equally well to Milosz: "... After years of migratory wandering, they again settled down in the capital of People's Poland, rebuilt not with their hands, to find there readers who were taught to read by People's Poland, about which they have written nothing good, whether in emigration or in Warsaw..."

Ferocious anticommunist, inveterate enemy of the Soviet Union and socialism, bigoted Catholic (in his latest interview with a periodical he claims in all seriousness that the development of European civilization rests on the Bible and Christianity, and that the medieval scholastic is the foundation of modern sciences!?) did not come back to Poland after 30 years in emigration for the readers' sake alone. That is obvious.

PZPR Voivodship Meetings

LD261024 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0300 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Poland: Annual PZPR conferences which are electing new voivodship committees and delegates for the ninth extraordinary party congress continued in some voivodships yesterday.

So far, some 90 percent of congress delegates have been elected. Although workers form 44 percent of all members and candidate members of the party, there are less than 20 percent workers among the delegates.

Andrzej Barzyk, head of the organizational department of the party Central Committee, said in an interview to journalists that there are strong trends at conferences to reform the party; there are efforts to carry through the so-called ideological pluralism and to introduce in the party bourgeois and religious ideologies. Revisionist elements are trying to carry through exchanges of the present party bodies, as it has happened, for example at the voivodship conference in Suwalki. At some conferences endless arguments go on about the method of voting, which is often on the borderline of anarchy. There have also been cases of intentional manipulation of the proceedings of conferences by individual groups of delegates which are under the influence of the Walesa trade unions. This has been manifested, above all at the Poznan Voivodship conference, where the revisionist pressure group on Wednesday refused to respect the resolutions of the 11th session of the party Central Committee and tried to prevent the election of candidates of the central party bodies. Neither the appeals of Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, who is attending the conference, nor a telephone call from Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee helped. It was only yesterday that after a new appeal by Stanislaw Kania, delegates at the Poznan conference changed their stand and submitted to the resolution of the 11th session of the PZPR Central Committee.

The party voivodship conference started in the industrial town of Katowice yesterday. It is attended by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, and Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Delegates of the conference who represent 350,000 members and candidate members of the party of the Katowice area, in a secret ballot, elected Andrzej Zabinski first secretary of the party voivodship committee.

'Highly Dangerous Position'

LD261904 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The whole world is watching developments in Poland. There are daily news reports speaking of the activation of antisocialist forces in the People's Republic of Poland. Such forces are represented by leaders of the Committee of Social Self-Defence--KOR--the Confederation of Independent Poland, but also by many people in the so-called independent Solidarity unions, aided by Western imperialist circles. These forces have maneuvered Poland into a highly dangerous position. The communist and workers' parties in socialist countries are aware of the serious political and economic situation in Poland. Their main task is not only building socialist society, but also protecting it. Therefore, they cannot underestimate the threat posed to Poland's socialist society. It is their duty to help remove the danger. This duty emanates from the fact that Poland is a component of the socialist community, a member of the Warsaw Pact alliance, and a member of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. Any distabilization process in Poland endangers both the interests of the Polish people and the interests and security of the entire socialist community.

This does not concern economic issues alone. The impact may be much more far-reaching as it concerns the balance of power in Europe, peaceful development, as well as stability and security of the entire European Continent. The socialist countries have therefore frequently pointed to the danger posed to Poland itself, posed to the other socialist countries and to European security and peace by the activities of antisocialist forces in Poland. This was commented on by party and state representatives of the Warsaw Treaty alliance as early as December, 1980, when they discussed the question of how to lead Poland out of the crisis.

Poland's representatives agreed with the evaluation of the situation. However, developments in Poland continued negatively. A policy of retreat and compromise has aggravated the crisis. Highly alarming is the fact that antisocialist forces are out to disrupt the unity of Poland's United Workers' Party, that they intend to weaken its leading role within society and to undermine its action-readiness. It is clearly the aim of these efforts to alter the Marxist-Leninist character of the party of Poland's communists and to turn it into a party of reformist character. This situation was correctly assessed by the Marxist forces within the United Workers' Party, and by patriotic forces within society. They therefore accepted the letter of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee of June 11th, as valuable help in correctly assessing the process, which is in progress in Poland just now.

Let us quote Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who said at a regional conference of the United Workers' Party: Fears for the further development of socialism in Poland are a realistic political category, which is noted not only among our closest friends but in the entire communist movement.

This is why the United Workers' Party has accepted the letter from the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee as a firm basis for drawing up a reliable development program, leading the country out of its crisis.

The past 10 months have confirmed that the present state of affairs cannot be overcome without clear-cut Marxist-Leninist evaluation, a consistent class approach and a concrete program. In this respect, the socialist countries are rendering selfless assistance to the People's Republic of Poland.

Grabski Poznan Speech Cited

LD270830 Prague CTK in English 1950 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jun (CETEKA correspondent)--Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo, said at the regional party conference in Poznan that the political situation in the country was deteriorating and that the socialist system is still in danger.

Destabilization is undermining the confidence in Poland as a partner in the socialist community. It is necessary to halt the escalating anti-Sovietism, instigated by irresponsible elements, and the circulation of leaflets and publications which play a dangerous game with the interests of the Polish people, Grabski said.

He deplored the fact that only a small number of workers is being elected as delegates to the congress of the party, and said that the ideological situation in the party is a cause for concern. At the regional conference in Piotrkow Trybunalski, attempts were made to smuggle church theories into the party ideology, Grabski said.

He warned against the weakening of State Power and the decline of its authority, and called for resolute measures against loose social discipline and acts against public order.

FRANCE-SOIR ON CSSR REACTION TO POLISH CRISIS

PM261540 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 10 Jun 81 pp 1-2

[Francois Corre article: "Gdansk Agreements a Subversive Document in Prague"]

[Text] "When I heard the news of the Gdansk workers' strike a kind of electric shock passed right through my body. I remember it as if it were yesterday. I was vacationing in Northern Bohemis, where Radio Free Europe is not jammed.

Automatically, a solemn pronouncement formed in my mind as I listened to the astounding news, and I heard myself say out loud, almost despite myself, like a robot: 'A new era is starting today and from now on life will never be the same again.'

"I was not mistaken. Every day since that summer morning in 1980 I have learned that the Polish revolution has not yet been crushed by Soviet tanks and I have enjoyed another 24 hours of pure happiness."

A white-haired, 64-year-old with a childish smile, my interlocutor is one of Czechoslovakia's most famous intellectuals, one of the country's foremost oppositionists and one of the signatories of Charter 77. A former university professor deprived of his chair last December after privately discussing the Marxist significance of the Gdansk strikes with some students, he is now a laborer for the Prague highways department.

In this country where memories of the 1968 Soviet invasion are still fresh, the epic experiences of the Solidarity trade union have a very special impact, and all the Czechoslovak oppositionists with whom I met spoke to me about it in equally enthusiastic terms.

Anonymity

Unlike the Hungarian oppositionists, almost all of whom authorized me to publish their names, many of the Czechoslovak oppositionists asked me to maintain their anonymity. It is understandable. It is not in the least pleasant to announce that you disagree with the government in Czechoslovakia.

Petr Uhl, a young Marxist philosopher whose theories were judged incompatible with the party line, has just begun his 7th year in prison. In the medieval-style fortress of Mirov, the country's toughest jail, where three prisoners committed suicide in 1980, Petr Uhl lived with 31 other convicts, including a large proportion of homosexuals and psychopaths, in a cell 55 square meters in size.

Thanks to the tenacity of his wife, who managed to convey reports to the Western press, Petr Uhl's lot has been improved: He has been moved and now works in a polishing workshop. The work is easy enough for him to be able to meet the production norms and thus earn some pocket money.

The trouble is that no health or safety measures are taken to protect prisoners in the workshop, all of whom suffer from lung disorders caused by inhaling dust.

Another oppositionist, Petr Cibulka, also serving a prison sentence, had his sentence extended by a further year for having started a hunger strike in his cell. His intention was to protest against hazing by one of the guards, who refused, among other things, to give him the newspapers to which he was entitled--newspapers which discussed the events in Poland. Petr was in the right, as a court admitted, but in Czechoslovakia a hunger strike is a subversive act deserving punishment.

Following the Polish events, the regime has further increased the stringency of its repressions, out of fear.

Rudolf Battek, former Charter 77 spokesman and one of the founders of VONS (committee to defend unjustly persecuted persons), has been in prison since 1980, convicted of having "insulted" a policeman. Since this unlikely charge carries a maximum penalty of 1 year's imprisonment, it was curiously altered on 21 April.

Without having left prison and without anything new having occurred in matters concerning him, Rudolf Battek is now charged under the notorious Article 98 of the penal code, sections 1 and 2, with "serious subversive conspiracies against the republic" and with "collaboration with foreign countries." He therefore now risks 3-10 years in prison.

Why? Because about 1 year ago, before his arrest, he wrote some articles about the Polish problem.

The repression does not affect only intellectuals or ringleaders. One young woman, Drahoslava Sinoglova, charged with having typed out the text of the "Gdansk agreements"--a document regarded as subversive--has been sentenced to a year's imprisonment.

However, Drahoslava has not been imprisoned: She is pregnant. Nevertheless, the courts have informed her that she will be imprisoned 6 weeks after the birth of her child.

It would be possible to cite many similar examples of escalating repression of oppositionists since Solidarity has been calling the tune in Poland.

The regime is barely more lenient toward dissidents still at large. Indeed, the Czechoslovak courts sometimes resort to subtle methods. There are some oppositionists whom they have been unable to convict of subversive activities and who could therefore not be sentenced. But that does not mean that they are therefore immune.

They have been released, but nevertheless informed that they would be tried subsequently. They are therefore free, but they know that at any time of the day or night there could be a knock at their door and that the militia could arrest them.

Against dissidents neither in prison nor directly threatened with imminent imprisonment, the procedures used are the same as those used normally in the USSR and the other Eastern bloc countries. Thus they systematically lose their jobs and find themselves employed in manual labor or jobs well below their abilities.

Karel Bartosek, a former teacher of philosophy and history, now works for a water pumping concern. Though married and father of a family, he spends 2-3 weeks a month away from home, summer and winter, in a trailer in areas requiring irrigation.

A well-known jurist, former teacher at Prague's law faculty and Charter 77 signatory, who wishes to remain anonymous, is now an office clerk.

Milos Rejchrt, former protestant minister, is furnaceman at the Prague railroad worker's leisure center.

A Brno surgeon has become a roadmender. I met with him at his apartment near the old city and asked him whether he expected to take up the scalpel again some day. "I would be entirely unable to," he told me showing me his hands, whose fingers were deformed by wielding the pick.

But sometimes these men whose careers and sometimes lives have been ruined are still not left in peace in their new jobs. Thus Bedrich Placak, who was the first Czechoslovak surgeon to perform open-heart surgery, has been dismissed from his post and appointed night watchman at a Prague museum. He has again been threatened with dismissal from his new job for being too interested in Poland.

Not all the oppositionists are intellectuals. Some of the Charter 77 signatories in Northern Bohemia are workers. They have been persecuted, especially since the Gdansk strikes, but usually without being brought to trial: It is very bad publicity in a socialist country to have to admit officially that the working class is not entirely satisfied.

Apartments Monitored

Therefore these grassroots oppositionists have been punished, threatened and given the most dangerous or the hardest jobs.

Everything has been done to demoralize them, until they eventually leave their factories to become street sweepers or night watchmen--in short, until they are removed from the production structures.

These are not the only measures to have been taken against the dissidents. The vast majority of them have been expelled from their apartments and settled in tiny low-rent accomodations. Very few of them have been left with a telephone. Many of them who had one until the Polish events have been cut off since then.

To meet one of these people, therefore, you have to go to his home, even if he lives 300-400 km from Prague, and await him there.

It is difficult for dissidents' children to find places in kindergarten or high school. They have practically no chance of some day receiving higher education.

Often they are openly followed in their movements, their apartments are watched and their visitors photographed via telephoto lenses.

Milos Rejchrt, the former clergyman, now a furnaceman, showed me the building opposite his home, from where his visitors are photographed and warned me: "It is likely that your identity will be checked when you leave here. They often do it."

"They" did not ask for my documents when I left Milos Rejchrt but a few days earlier my visit to Prague was marked by a number of minor incidents.

At about 0200, as I was leaving the apartment of one of Czechoslovakia's best known oppositionists, writer Jiri Nemec, and had just started up my hired Renault 18, a yellow and white police car boxed me in against the sidewalk, two uniformed militiamen asked me for my documents and asked me in our only shared language, German, whether I had been drinking. In truth, I had to tell them that I had. In fact it was St. George's Day, Jiri Nemec's saint's day (Jiri being the Czechoslovak equivalent of George), and I had been involved at his flat with other guests in consuming several bottles of white wine. My speech, my gait and my driving ability were, however, unimpaired. Having received my consent, the policemen presented me with a breathalyzer tester, into which I blew. To my astonishment, it registered no color change. The policemen then produced another bag, into which I also blew, and which also, for reasons I still do not understand, remained completely negative.

This twofold failure did not prevent the policemen from giving me a KCS200 fine, which I had brought upon myself by my admission alone.

Both the next day and the day after--so three times in as many days--and always as I was leaving a dissident's home, I was similarly apprehended by policemen and given an alcohol test, which always registered negative (on the two latter occasions this was the expected result).

Was I subject to police surveillance? Are visitors to oppositionists systematically discouraged from paying such visits? Is there an attempt to ascertain their identities? I do not know. The fact that I was breathalyzed three times in as many days could be a mere coincidence, but fairly unlikely.

On the following days I virtually abandoned my car and took cabs, but this did not spare me from encountering the police--and in force--on my way. After I had lunched with the Prague correspondent of a major international press agency, the journalist showed me two Lada automobiles--one green, one red--parked beneath his window in a restricted zone since the morning.

In each of the cars there were three plainclothesmen. My host had been followed and watched since the previous afternoon.

Perhaps the only purpose of this shadowing and these identity checks is to give oppositionists and Western journalists the impression of a vague threat. Certainly after a few weeks of this, people's nerves are sometimes shattered.

I met in Prague with a couple of oppositionists who had been married 29 years and were about to get divorced. For the previous 7 months the husband, a Marxist economist in contact with Solidarity trade unionists, had been summoned on several occasions by the police, who had grilled him on very specific aspects of his professional, political and conjugal life. "Having cross-checked," he told me, "I have proof that they could not have known all that about me, my wife and both of us without the help of bugs placed in several rooms of our apartment, certainly including our bedroom." Indeed, several systematic searches led to the discovery of two ill-concealed bugs.

Nervous Breakdown

"I am prompted to wonder whether all this is nothing but a mere exercise in 'destabilization,'" my interlocutor told me. "They made sure that I knew they were listening to me."

Be that as it may, his wife was unable o withstand the situation. Knowing or believing that, day and night, she was being listened to nonstop, with her children, in the bath, in bed and with her husband, she eventually suffered a nervous breakdown and asked for a divorce.

Yes, it is very difficult to remain an oppositionist in Czechoslovakia. Many people whose addresses I was given before leaving Paris virtually refused to speak to me. Two of them --an intellectual and a worker--had fled Prague several weeks previously, succumbing to the nervous strain.

When, after many difficulties, I reached their country refuge, they mistrusted me for a long time, apparently fearing a provocation. Having established my trustworthiness, they asked me how I had obtained their new address, what precautions I had taken to ensure that I had not been followed, and so forth. While we were eating, one of them jumped every time the sound of an engine broke the silence of the beautiful North Bohemian countryside.

Several oppositionists, including a foreign-language teacher who acted as my interpreter, asked me not to carry, when I left Czechoslovakia, any documents bearing their names, telephone numbers or addresses, which the border police might have found by searching me.

In any country it has always taken uncommon moral qualities to oppose a totalitarian regime. In Czechoslovakia, especially since Solidarity's existence has been making the Prague leaders tremble, it takes truly exceptional courage not to backtrack and conform.

PRAGUE VIEWS ROSTOW APPOINTMENT, POZNAN FORUM

LD281715 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0730 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Review of international developments by editor Jiri Cedrovsky]

[Excerpt] In light of the effort of the representatives of socialist countries, representatives of nonaligned states and a number of realistic-thinking politicians in the West regarding efforts aimed at consolidating peace and security, the endeavors of other people, as presented by officials of the Reagan administration in particular, stood out conspicuously last week.

The new director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Eugene Rostow, stated that the United States would not start talks with the Soviet Union any earlier than in March next year. His words in effect confirmed the long-held suspicion that the Americans are less interested in talks and more interested in the speeding up of their armament aims. Reagan's man in the agency, which ought to bear the more appropriate name as an institution for the defense of the feverish arms build-up, however, did not begin his career in the best possible way. He was reproached by West European newspapers, which convey the views of their respective governments or influential circles, and Rostow was also criticized by the American press. The widely read and important daily CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR wrote that nothing can justify the delay in starting talks with the Soviet Union and called on Reagan to stop procrastination and to approach the talks on arms control as the most urgent problem.

Judging from the views of American officials, the United States is taking its time as far as important talks with the Soviet Union are concerned. On the other hand, it is in a hurry in the areas where it thinks its interests are being threatened. This impatience was represented in Paris by Vice President Bush who came to find out personally about French communist participation in the government. Armed by Reagan's words that the participation of French communists in the Mitterrand government is inadmissible, Bush did not behave in Paris as a diplomat but rather as a shepherd admonishing a black sheep, and, speaking figuratively he used his stick more often than was necessary.

Bush's rather crude pressure springs not only from the fact that the Reagan administration is gripped by panic when it hears the word "communism" but is also motivated by the fact that in its militaristic campaign aimed at world domination Washington reckoned that it would be able to draw France closer, thus placing Paris under its control and dictate. The participation of communists in the government has considerably complicated these plans. A war of words is being conducted for the time being while Bush is seeking allies in Europe, who would support the United States. Paris is reacting calmly and with restraint, despite the fact that the men in the Elysee Palace are well aware that Bush's invectives and seeming concern constitute a gross interference in the international affairs of France.

In Poland, the voivodship conferences of the PZPR continued electing delegates to the 9th party congress. As observed by Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the elections of new bodies and delegates to the congress have been to the detriment of the workers, whose numbers in the bodies as well as amongst the delegates is too small. Tadeusz Grabski pointed to the ideological disunity within the party as well as to the decline of the authority of the state's power. Correspondents carried reports from Poland last week that attempts were being made at some voivodship conferences to push through ideas advanced by the leadership of the so-called Solidarity and to smuggle into the ideology of the PZPR the theories of the church. At the same time they drew attention to the sharp differentiation of the forces within the party and to the instances of the endeavors of a number of Polish communists to find a correct and appropriate solution to the profound crisis that has affected Poland.

In this connection, the meeting of the forum of communists in Poznan is significant, a forum which is assessing the development within the country and the party from the Marxist-Leninist positions, warning against the continuing process of destabilization, demanding that party resolutions be fulfilled and that the words of the party leadership be underpinned by actions.

As the events of Poland show, the postponing of urgent solutions, inconsistency and delays do not improve the situation. On the contrary! And this realization is not valid only on the Polish scale but as the past week showed also on the world-wide scale.

MILOS JAKES MEETS YURIY BREZHNEV IN PRAGUE

LD280142 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received in Prague today Yuriy Brezhnev, first deputy minister of foreign trade of the USSR. They discussed some topical questions of mutual economic cooperation stemming from the deliberations of the two fraternal parties' congresses.

TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR VISIT 28 JUN

LD290717 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Prague, 28 Jun (CTK)--Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Turkmen arrived here Sunday on an official visit at the invitation of his Czechoslovak counterpart, Bohuslav Chnoupek.

The Turkish minister will have talks with Czechoslovak representatives on world topics and possibilities of expanding Czechoslovak-Turkish relations.

TRADE UNION DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR BUDAPEST

LD290728 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Prague, 28 Jun (CTK)--A delegation of the Czechoslovak Central Council of Trade Unions, led by its chairman and Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium member Karel Hoffmann, left here for Budapest Sunday.

The delegation will participate in the 25th session of the bureau and the end session of the General Council of the World Federation of Trade Unions which will be held July 1-3 in Budapest.

SYRIAN BA'TH DELEGATION ARRIVES ON OFFICIAL VISIT

LD291024 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] At the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee a delegation of the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, headed by Abdullah al-Ahmar, assistant general secretary of the all-Arab leadership of the party, arrived by air in Prague today for an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

Meeting the Syrian guests at Ruzyne Airport were Vasil Bilak, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; and Josef Havlin, secretary of the party's Central Committee, as well as other party officials.

BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH GDR--The CSSR and the GDR have signed a "bilateral international specialization agreement" on the deliveries of pumping equipment in the 1981-85 period. Under the terms of the agreement, the CSSR will deliver pumps to the GDR valued at more than Kcs140 million. [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jun 81 p 2 AU]

UTILIZATION OF SOLAR ENERGY--A total of 44 facilities with an "absorption area" of 1,347.4 square meters, utilizing solar energy, are now in operation in the Czech lands. Twenty-one are in the South Moravia Region, 7 in South Bohemia, 2 in West Bohemia and 3 in the North Moravia Region. [figures as published] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jun 81 p 2 AU]

COMPOSITION OF NEW COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ANNOUNCED

LD261758 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1528 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jun (ADN)--The Council of Ministers of the GDR is composed as follows:

Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mandred Flegel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Contract Court.

Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of justice.

Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of general engineering, agricultural machinery and vehicle building.

Wolfgang Rauchfuss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of supplies.

Dr Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of environmental protection and water conservancy.

Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Rudolph Schulze, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of posts and telecommunications.

Dr Gerhard Weiss, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and permanent representative of the GDR in CEMA.

Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of science and technology.

Otto Arndt, minister of transport and director general of the GDR railways.

Dr Gerhard Beil, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign trade.

Wolfgang Beyreuther, state secretary for labor and wages.

Dr Manfred Bochmann, minister of geology.

Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, minister of higher and vocational education.

Gerhard Briksa, minister of trade and supply.

Werner Buschmann, minister of light industry.

Col Gen Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Oskar Fischer, minister of foreign affairs.

Dr Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery building.

Werner Greiner-Petter, minister of glass and ceramics.

Wolfgang Gress, state secretary of the State Planning Commission.

Walter Halbritter, minister and director of the Council of Ministers Office for Prices.

Ernst Hoefner, minister of finance.

Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister of culture.

Army Gen Dr Heinz Hoffmann, minister of national defense.

Dr Margot Honecker, minister of education.

Wolfgang Junker, minister of construction.

Horst Kaminsky, president of GDR State Bank.

Rolf Kersten, minister of heavy machine construction and installation construction.

Heinz Klopfer, state secretary of the State Planning Commission.

Erhard Krack, mayor of Berlin, capital of the GDR.

Heinz Kuhrig, minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs.

Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, minister of health.

Army Gen Erich Mielke, minister of state security.

Wolfgang Mitzinger, minister of coal and power.

Hans Sattler, director of the Council of Ministers Office for Youth Affairs.

Dr Kurt Singhuber, minister of ore mining, metallurgy and potash.

Horst Soelle, minister of foreign trade.

Otfried Steger, minister of electrical engineering and electronics.

Dr Albert Stief, minister and chairman of the GDR Committee of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate.

Dr Udo-Dieter Wange, minister of bezirk administered industry and food industry.

Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry.

Ministers Sworn In

LD271154 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1537 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jun (ADN)--Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, on Friday swore in the chairman and members of the Council of Ministers on the GDR Constitution, in accordance with Article 79, Paragraph 4 of the Constitution.

In a short speech he congratulated the chairman of the Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and the members of the Council of Ministers on their unanimous election by the People's Chamber and wished them much success and creative vigor in their responsible work. "I am confident," said Erich Honecker, "that you will with all your might implement the decisions of the 10th SED Congress for the further strengthening of our German Democratic Republic, for the benefit of the people and the maintenance of peace."

Present at the swearing-in at the official headquarters of the Council of State were Deputy Chairman of the Council of State Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and President of the GDR People's Chamber Paul Verner, member of the Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee Dr Mandred Gerlach, Ernst Goldenbaum, Gerald Goetting, Prof Heinrich Homann, Secretary of the Council of State Heinz Eichler and Director of the Secretariat of the Council of Ministers Dr Kurt Kleinert.

HONECKER APPOINTS GENERALS OF THE PEOPLE'S POLICE

AU251112 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Jun 81 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the German People's Police Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, GDR State Council Chairman and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council, promoted and appointed Maj Gen Guenter Giel to lieutenant general and Colonels Klaus Gondesen, Karl-Otto Mueller, Herbert Pohl, Ernst Strauss to major generals, in recognition and appreciation of their outstanding accomplishments in forming, developing and steadily increasing the readiness for action of the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of Interior.

Present were Col Gen Fritz Streletz, secretary of the GDR National Defense Council; Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, chief of the SED Central Committee Department for Security; and Lt Gen Rudolf Riss, first deputy minister of interior and head of the German People's Police.

ADN REVIEWS BUDGET ACCOUNTING FOR 1980

LD271256 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1455 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Berlin, 26 Jun (ADN)--In the budget accounting for the year 1980, revenue totaled M160,652,400,000 as against total expenditure of M160,283,400,000.

The budget accounting shows the revenue from publicly owned works, combines and associations of publicly owned works to be the largest revenue item; payments from production funds levy and trading fund levy, M18,233,000,000; payments from the net profit, M40,094,800,000; payment from levies linked to production, M39,338,800,000.

The levies from agriculture amounted to M1,417,900,000. The item of income tax from workers and employees is shown to be M6,793,200,000.

Last year a total of M7,239,000,000 was spent on housing, including M2,073,400,000 for new housing, including new construction of social institutions.

For price supports to secure stable prices for basic necessity goods and charges for the population M16,853,400,000 was spent. Of this, M7,847,500,000 went to foodstuffs.

Expenditure on education amounted to M9,836,300,000, including M924,400,000 for public education and M2,015,900,000 for higher and vocational education. For teaching aids as well as toys and school meals, M862.7 million were spent.

Expenditure on the health and social system is shown to be M9,532,600,000.

Expenditure on social insurance amounted to M29.41 billion. Last year M15,813,700,000 was spent on pensions alone, for maternity benefits, M728.6 million and for paid maternity leave, M278.1 million. Expenditure on culture amounted to M1,595,900,000.

Expenditure on national defense amounted to M9,403,000,000; on public security, the administration of justice and securing the state frontier, M3,683,000,000.

TROOPS CONSTRUCTING TUNNEL UNDER BORDER POSITIONS

LD261254 Hamburg DPA in German 0933 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Summary] Luebeck, 26 Jun (DPA)--GDR frontier troops are constructing a tunnel underneath the border installations at the Schleswig-Holstein sector to be able to move up closer to the intra-German frontier without being observed by the federal border guards. According to federal border guards and customs officials, building is in progress southeast of the 'Grosse Schwedenschanze' at Luebeck-Schlutrup. A similar tunnel has been built in the frontier region at Ratzeburg.

WARSAW REPORTS PLANNED VISIT BY GROMYKO IN JULY

LD281737 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign affairs minister of the Soviet Union, will make a short, friendly visit to Poland in the first days of July.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON VOIVODSHIP CONFERENCES

Jaruzelski at Katowice

LD261644 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The Katowice PZPR Voivodship programmatic and election conference resumed its debate at 1000 this morning. Among the invited guests is Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo.

Yesterday, just before midnight and just before the recess was announced, the lists of candidates for members and alternate members of the voivodship committee plenum, and for delegates to the Ninth PZPR Congress and the voivodship Audit Commission and Party Control Commission were closed.

Grudzien, Others Expelled

LD262248 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The Katowice Voivodship Party report-back and election conference resumed its debates this morning.

A report on the work of the extraordinary commission for assessment of activities and responsibility of former members of the party leadership and administration in the Katowice Voivodship, set up by the plenum of the voivodship committee, was made by Piotr Mazelon, chairman of the commission. He said that the main task of the commission was the evaluation of the activity of former first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee Zdzislaw Grudzien, who met with universal criticism at meetings throughout the voivodship party organization. Accusations and motions concerning other members of the former leadership of the voivodship committee and the state administration were also formulated.

An animated discussion on the subject followed, during which further accusations concerning Zdzislaw Grudzien and his activity were made. The speakers did not agree to separate the political responsibility from the legal responsibility of former prominent personalities. Delegates expressed concern about creating guarantees excluding any similar distortions and abuse of authority in the future. They demanded, among other things, an improvement of the legal system in our country.

Andrzej Zabinski said he could not imagine the possibility of guiding the work of the voivodship committee unless all the problems of calling to account all those responsible were settled.

The conference adopted by a majority vote a 12-point resolution calling to account the members of the former political and administrative leadership of Katowice Voivodship: former first secretary of the voivodship committee, Zdzislaw Grudzien; former voivoda, Zdzislaw Legomski; former ministers of mining, Wlodzimierz Lejczak and Jan Kulpinski; vice minister of mining, Gerard Kroczek; and former secretaries of the voivodship committee, Stanislaw Gurgul, Miroslaw Baranowski and Wieslaw Kiczan; as well as former first secretary of the Katowice municipal party committee, Josef Haensel; former rector of the Silesian University in Katowice, Henryk Rechowicz; and former voivodship commander of the Citizens' Militia, Benedykt Cader.

Here is the full text of this resolution:

The 17th voivodship programmatic and election conference of the PZPR, holding its deliberations in Katowice on 25 and 26 June, 1981, in accordance with the motions of comrades-delegates, passes the following:

To expel from the Polish United Workers' Party the following comrades: Zdzislaw Grudzien, Zdzislaw Legomski, Henryk Rechowicz, Stanislaw Gurgul and Wieslaw Kiczan;

To approve the expulsion from the party of Wlodzimierz Lejczak, Jan Kulpinski, Miroslaw Baranowski and Gerard Kroczek;

To send a request to the Council of State for verification of the highest state decorations awarded to discredited members of the authorities;

To withdraw party support from citizen-deputies Zdzislaw Grudzien and Zdzislaw Legomski, and also ask the voivodship committee of the National Unity Front to take steps to cancel their [Sejm] deputies' mandates;

To ask the Government of the Polish People's Republic to withdraw unwarranted privileges from discredited members of the authorities;

Until the final decision on the corrupt practices of Comrades Jozef Haensel and Benedykt Cader has been taken by the voivodship Party Control Commission, to suspend these two as party members, and as far as Comrade Zdzislaw (Fjuk) is concerned, to ask his local party organization to take a similar decision;

In connection with the expiry of the validity of the mandate of the commission set up to assess the individual culpability of members of the former voivodship authorities, to hand over all materials gathered by this commission to a newly elected voivodship Party Control Commission;

To call on the members of the Politburo taking part in the conference, namely Comrades Stanislaw Kania, Wojciech Jaruzelski, Andrzej Zabinski and Gerard Gabrys, to make available all materials concerning members of the former political and administrative leadership of the voivodship which are in the possession of the special commission of the Central Committee, chaired by Comrade Tadeusz Grabski, so that they can be utilized by the voivodship Party Control Commission;

To recognize that people who, when in leading positions, caused essential economic damage by irresponsible, erroneous decisions, should be sued by the courts notwithstanding their suffering of the political consequences of their actions;

To recognize the necessity of setting up a state tribunal, and to put the delegates of the voivodship party organization to the ninth extraordinary congress under obligation to move a resolution to this effect, to be debated by the congress;

To put the voivodship Party Control Commission under obligation to define the responsibility and to call to account all party members who took part in taking and implementing irresponsible, erroneous and illegal decisions of the former sociopolitical leadership of the Katowice Voivodship; and

To make this resolution public by means of the mass media.

The debates of the Katowice programmatic and election conference of the PZPR are continuing.

[Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish at 1200 GMT on 27 June also reports on the Katowice conference's expulsion of former officials from the party, adding: "A large portion of the discussion at the Katowice conference was taken up with the issue of the responsibility of former members of the voivodship authorities.

["Tadeusz Bejm, deputy president of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK], stated that in the fall of last year far more signals were coming in from the Katowice Voivodship than from any other.

["They concerned 190 persons, of whom 103 held leading posts. Forty percent of the accusations proved unfounded. The branch mining team of NIK alone, after inspecting 30 mining enterprises, noted the necessity of recalling 45 persons (deputy ministers, directors of federations [zjednoczen] and mines). The cases of 31 persons were passed on to the authorities of the Prosecutor's Office. The level of claims was estimated to be Z10 million.]

Jaruzelski Katowice Speech

LD271340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2215 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Speech by Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski at 26 June session of Katowice PZPR Voivodship report-back and election conference--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Delegates: First of all I would like to ask the chairman to agree to let my speech run over the 10-minute limit. [applause] Thank you very much.

I am standing on a very important platform at this moment, for, regardless of the times in which we are living, the whole of Poland always looks at this platform: not just because it is the platform of the largest party organization in the country, but because the temperature and tone, the impulses that come from here have a great influence on the situation in the party and the whole of Poland. Yesterday, the first secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Comrade Kania, assessed highly the first day of the debate. In my assessment of the second day's debate, not yet over it is true, I concur with him. The good, high temperature of the conference is a temperature that indicates not illness but a readiness to effectively overcome the difficulties, an offensive and a move forward.

I would like to take the opportunity afforded by this speech to once again warmly congratulate Comrade Zabinski on his election to the post of first secretary, and at the same time to congratulate all those who will emerge from the elections to the voivodship authorities and as delegates to the ninth congress of our party. I want to stress that I have great respect for the civilized conclusion to the election contest for the post of first secretary. This is a good school of civilized political manners.

Comrades, this is the third time I have come here, to Silesia during the past few months. Before that I had been here considerably less frequently, it is true, but generally for ceremonial occasions--to various kinds of openings and unveilings. I once had the great honor to be given the honorary title of meritorious miner. But all those occasions were such as not to permit a more profound examination of the essence, the nature of the toil which is so characteristic of this region. Today I think I understand better the salt of this black earth and particularly the moods and assessments of the working class, of its avant-garde section, or avant-garde sections, which are in this very region creating the achievements of our homeland.

I will not (?give) words of praise; there were too many of them in the past. Today I would just like to assure you that I will do everything possible to mobilize the means to bring about the implementation of our decisions, so that what is due to you, what this region and particularly the people who toil the hardest must obtain is guaranteed. I also fully accede to the proposal by Comrade (Grylewicz): in the immediate future voivodas, particularly those obligated to supply Katowice Voivodship with foodstuffs, will come down here. [applause]

The supply situation is very difficult and I say frankly that a great effort will be needed--I would even say [words indistinct]--to carry out everything that we have decided on. Be understanding; if there is a certain process, if it takes a certain amount of time, if certain sector disruptions do occur, (?this is) linked with imports in many cases, with procurement difficulties and other perturbations and problems.

I listened with great attention to all those speakers who talked about the difficulties in this region in the planning economy sector: ecological, social, educational problems and so on; the health service. All of them have (?piled up) in the time of profound crisis and so it is correspondingly difficult to remedy and therefore overcome them. But I am aware and I am convinced that our country must become increasingly aware that these matters must be (?attended to) as quickly as is feasible.

Help for Katowice Voivodship is a matter not only of duty, but I would say of honor for our whole country, for the whole of Poland. [applause] We will [word indistinct] this awareness; we will overcome various false myths, in order to get a true vision in our whole society of the great problems of your voivodship. I think that the session of the Government Presidium which we held in Katowice, preceded, on the initiative of Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, by the meeting in Warsaw, was an important step along this road. We will take other steps. Among others, as you probably know from publications and communiques we have issued, before the congress there will be a meeting of the Council of Ministers at which the appropriate ministers will be called upon to give an account of the tasks (?set) here. I warmly invite representatives of the voivodship to that meeting of the government.

Comrades: In a few days there will be a session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. This will be the next important session which will outline the new, important long-term tasks facing our economy. We have here among us Comrade Madej, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, who, if he has the opportunity to speak, will inform you in greater detail and more competently than I about the problems that will be raised at that session. It would seem that a particularly important document and program awaited by the whole of society will be the program of stabilization measures, or more precisely the program for a way out of the crisis, for overcoming the crisis: the program of offensive, of a policy of attack in the economic field. It will place a strong accent on social issues. It will be a nationwide program. We think it will meet with the understanding and approval of our society; that it will also meet with the approval of the community in your region as well.

But, alongside this forward plan, which should outline the way out of the difficult situation, we will also present to the Sejm, and so to the whole nation, the amended plan for 1981; amended downward, unfortunately, greatly downward.

In 1981 we predict that national income will drop in relation to 1980 by about 15 percent. This is an unusually profound, painful drop in the economic performance of the state. Our idea at present is, in correcting the plan, for the regression not to go helter-skelter but to be a controlled process, a prepared (?start) to the planned counteroffensive. The idea is to halt the downward trend and then to begin a movement upwards, a movement forward: to return to the rhythm of the development process. If we find the only reserve is successive lowering, curtailment of [word indistinct], in the long run it is impossible to keep on living and acting in this way. The curtailment of investment, cutbacks in the purchase of new technology and new equipment may in the near future threaten us with a technological gap in relation to countries which are developing at a faster rate. So, regardless of all the difficulties, we must use all the conditions we have [word indistinct], for those machines and installations which are not fully exploited, which should be operating, which should be modernized, for the (?licenses) under which they should be developed, not to come to a standstill.

[Words indistinct] about the possibilities of science, of institutes currently [word indistinct]. It should be our great national ambition to overcome this crisis in the intellectual sphere as well, exerting all our strength, all the power inherent in our society, in the technical and creative intelligentsia, to stop our regression in this field.

Comrades, there is no other way to achieve equilibrium and to move forward than by an increase in production; the container must be filled in order to (?share out). Only greater production can give greater consumption. This is an undeniable truth and only through production and (?its growth), particularly in those sectors which are decisive for progress, can there be an improvement in our situation.

And here once again, will all emphasis, the role of the Katowice Voivodship comes into relief. Poland is one country but nature has endowed it with various resources. The social history of the various regions of Poland developed differently; each of these regions has different capabilities. Today everybody is aware of the fact that it is here that the industrial bastion of Poland is situated, that here is the flywheel of industry, which, once it is in motion, will bring into the operation the whole of [word indistinct]. And the principal element is coal--the coal mining industry. The work of miners is indeed extremely hard. (?I can assure) the miners that I feel uncomfortable when talking about this subject, because I believe that it is up to them, the miners, to organize their action and work so as to provide the optimum results in the extraction of coal. We would not like to suggest solutions or to prompt anyone about how it should be done; many organizational and technical problems, which indicate the possibility of raising the output of coal, were raised here from this rostrum by competent representatives of miners. We can only add here an assurance that we will do everything in our power to combine these activities with an intensified campaign in favor of the conservation of coal, in order to avoid waste of coal, including the waste of power produced with coal [words indistinct]. We will devote more attention to all those types of fuel that can replace coal, such as lignite, peat, wood and so on. Finally, we will raise the issue of the prices of coal as a particularly important problem, both economically and morally.

In other words we do not want to make any suggestions or to try to teach miners. I have no intention of doing so; I am an old soldier but a young premier and I cannot see here either any need or any possibility of making suggestions that would give an impression of some degree of expertise in this matter. I am of the opinion that there are so many wise and dedicated men who either direct or work in the sphere of mining and who will be able to show enough initiative to find the best solutions. Having listened today and yesterday to a good many very interesting speeches by miners, representatives of the technical personnel and scientists--after all there is a large pool of scientific knowledge in this area--and also representatives of Solidarity and Industrial Branch Trade Unions, all those who could undoubtedly intend to take an active approach to this great national problem of increasing coal output, I understand the great complexity of this subject and I understand that it is necessary to seek new methods and new paths. We know that this is connected to some extent with the period in which we now live, in which this mobilization of effort is of exceptional character. And here I would like to raise this idea: Perhaps we could enter into a form of contract with miners to the effect that for 6 months or a year we would act within the system of some intensified regime--naturally while maintaining the 5-day work week of miners--which would yet make it possible to obtain the greatest possible production. We on our part, I repeat, will do everything in our power to see that the work of miners meets with the widest possible social, material and moral satisfaction.

Now, comrades, a few more words about the economic reform. The party initiated raising the issue of the reform; the reform has been one of the basic and fundamental factors of the renewal. This fact proves best of all that the party has been the initiator of renewal and its most reliable guarantor, and that the party is going toward its ninth congress with a complete, prepared package of measures which introduce or herald the reform.

It has been said here that the introduction of economic reform is being delayed, that one should talk less on the subject and do more about a speedy launching of the reform. One can agree with this view but only to some extent. This is a very difficult and serious operation. In Hungary, where a far-reaching reform of the economy has been introduced, the whole venture took several years to complete. I recently talked with the deputy prime minister of the Hungarian Government, who is piloting the reform, and he told me that many problems have not yet been completely settled, many experiments still remain to be made and not everything has passed the test of life. The reform means a shift within the economy, a shift of a great many of the elements of social life, to completely different lines. Many times in our history grave errors have been committed precisely because of haste, because of the lack of consultation, because of inadequate scientific analysis. We want to avoid this. We must not repeat such errors again, not merely because one can afterwards find oneself facing a resolution such as the one we were recently discussing here, but also because one must not cause harm to the country by failing to wait until certain problems reach maturity. Yet, I would like to assure you, comrades, that nevertheless work on the reform is going very speedily and intensively; the whole system of reform is virtually drawn up and will be submitted in all its complexity at the congress. At the same time the implementation bridgeheads of this reform are already being put in motion. The law on small-scale manufacturing, the law on the new organization of state farms, the draft laws on self-government, the law on trading enterprises, all these have been submitted to the Sejm. There has been a far-reaching reconstruction of the system of administration, a reconstruction of the government; an important element of this reconstruction is the fusion of the ministries of mining and of power industry. Precisely the demand put forward by Comrade (?Urback)--the achievement of greater abilities in implementation--sems to me to have a chance of success now, while at the same time all the requirements of the power industry and its specific character and needs--needs that ought to be properly linked with the activities of the mining industry--can also be satisfied.

The most difficult will be the transition period: If anybody expects that the reform is going to have a magic power of transforming our national economy within a short period of time, he or she is making a big and grave mistake. After all, the law, or rather the order, Resolution No. 118 which has been criticized in this hall, failed to pass the test because, at the present moment, with such great shortages of raw and other materials and component parts, and with various breakdowns in the industrial cooperation systems, even those limited opportunities for action of independent enterprises have already met certain obstacles and barriers.

We must count on that transition period being difficult when the economic reform--considerably more profound and far-reaching than Resolution 118--is introduced. We must count on its being a great test of our economic cadres, of workforces. There are also extremes in the approach to the reform: those who put the matter on the very brink of anarchy and voluntarism of [word indistinct] of complete freedom of choice in solutions; and also an extreme of another type which sees the reform in the form of only a limited touching-up of the existing state of affairs. We must oppose both these extremes in our initiating activities. We must model correct relations from the top downward; centralization, decentralization; responsibility and decisions. This period, the period of the coming months, of the coming years, will in this respect be exceptionally responsible ones. Many other countries will be watching our experiment. This experiment is well-received. I do not think that we are being found at fault here. I can tell you, comrades, that the commission's representatives exchanged experiences with the representatives of other countries; they have been to the Soviet Union, to Hungary, Bulgaria, and to the GDR. Everywhere our approach was greeted with interest. We too can borrow many interesting solutions from our neighbors. It is our armbition for the reform to succeed, for it to be a very powerful mobilizing factor for us and one accelerating the [word indistinct] of our economy, enabling us to get out of the crisis more quickly. We are very much counting on that.

I am convinced that the whole country is counting on it: that the well-organized economy here in Silesia and the Basin, the tradition of good work and good management, a high standard of discipline, may become a model in the introduction of the reform. And, comrades, I fervently appeal to you for that.

We have great national assets. Our industry is strongly constructed, but it was fatally knocked out of gear. This happened relatively quickly and hence the shock we are all experiencing which creates the very painful atmosphere in which we have been living for a fairly long time. Not long ago, after all we were genuinely pleased at the dynamic growth of our economy, although dangerous currents were maturing under the surface. We indeed have great achievements [words indistinct]: The achievement of great work. But reality has brutally caused the need to repair this mechanism, this construction, to regulate it, to put it in order: and this must be done by people and people are the main resource. Here (?I have) a very convincing statement by a comrade whose name I did not hear, who when pointing out a candidate, a miner, said that if we had a thousand like him in our mine, in 5 years we would not be borrowing but lending it instead. I think, although there is undoubtedly a certain figure of speech here, it contains a great truth: that we rest not simply our hopes but our certainty that we will overcome the difficulties on people, their initiative, their enthusiasm, their conviction that we will get out of this crisis, that we will go on; that we base ourselves on the great achievements of our nation, on socialism and the party.

I think the time has come and I direct this at people in particular who are responsible, who work in the mass media, to show more actively good work, such as factories which are working well. At one time this was done perhaps in a too simplified way, with too much ceremony: the propaganda of success. Today, in turn, we lack--I personally feel the lack and I think that very many of us feel it--the opportunity to see on television and in the papers people who deserve the highest respect for their work, for overcoming difficulties, for achieving good results--for the country, for Poland.

We are not interested in glossy pictures. What matters is to show a path that involves hardship and sufferings but end in success, in victory, something instructive, something constructive. We all need it.

Comrades, we are approaching the ninth congress: the congress of our great hopes, the congress that should allow us fully to recover the leading role of our party, the congress of the rebuilding of the strength and unity of our party, and the congress of the turning point. Hence the delegates who will be elected face a great task, a historic task, and a great responsibility. All those who will find themselves in the hall of the congress, who will take part in the congress, must be aware of this responsibility, and must do everything in their power so that our party and thus our country come out of this congress with new force. We are convinced that it will indeed come out with such new force. Since the 11th plenum, since receiving the letter of the fraternal Soviet party, our party already feels better and stronger, this, comrades, is visible at this conference and it has been visible at a number of other conferences throughout the country. However, not all the difficulties and burning questions experienced by the party are behind us. A state of some trepidation still exists in the party. The backward-looking attitude is still dominant; attempts of one kind or another to push the party toward extreme positions are still made. The party program contains a policy on the issue of cadres which in fact decides how the state, the region, the industrial enterprise, every element of our life are directed. It is of fundamental importance.

If we are to talk about the errors and the weaknesses of the past, we must place the cadres policy at the head, or almost at the very head of the list of the omissions and weaknesses which have been allowed to occur during that period. And yet this policy, the personnel policy, constitutes above all a response to the question and the demand that every post be occupied by the right person. It also includes the openness of this policy and public approval for its implementation. It covers, too, integrity, which ensures that the best and the most suitable people are appointed to any given post , and that candidates should be more freely and frequently sought among the workers.

As Comrade Konieczko said, workers who have not only experience and hard-worked hands but also training, knowledge and brains should be sought and should find their proper place in all our party control organs and an opportunity to help direct the state. We must consistently counteract the attempts favoring the appointment of people who tend to be arrogant, autocratic, of limited outlook and apt to abuse their position. The process of purge is now very advanced; these people have done much evil, much harm and hence the pent-up feeling of resentment and the heated discussions on this subject at this conference; hence also these radical and tough decisions which you have adopted.

Yet, comrades, I would like to say here--and I hope to be properly understood right to the end--that if we look at these cases cooly, we must become aware that they also constitute human tragedies and that in case of every single one of these men this is a question of a defeat. Each of them began somewhere at the bottom, starting from very a low and difficult position in life, and then--as a result of some process or another, some influence or another--these people underwent a negative internal transformation. Thus in each case it is a defeat of a man, a defeat of a life story which might have otherwise been a fine one. Looking at this problem from the purely human point of view I am unable to give in to such thoughts, in spite of everything, although I am of the opinion that radical consequences and just consequences are inevitable in our party's internal life. Our party must assess, justly and objectively, all those whom it has entrusted with responsible functions, and then bring out its verdict.

The reason I mention this is that while we make sure that justice is done, we must at the same time maintain calm and moderation in the future, discard such bitterness and create conditions for work for those people who can work. I wish to say, comrades, without referring so much to persons whom we and you have examined, but taking the country as a whole, that there are many cases in which people who leave various posts, some of which are not very high-ranking, cannot always find work in their particular field. Difficulties are put in the way of them finding such work. This also applies to people about whom there can be no reservations as regards their personal honesty. I think we shall now be able to afford, after the party congress, and after all the measures have been taken, to include in what is constructive all those who can work and who ought to work in such posts and in such functions which are of benefit to the country.

Work in our socialist conditions is after all of great moral value. It is a shameful thing for us that after 36 years there are queues, that there is a shortage of elementary goods. But, comrades, I think the biggest humiliation for a person is being unemployed, feeling useless, unwanted and superfluous. The generation--most of the generation--in this hall does not know or cannot remember this bitter taste, but after all this region knows and remembers it. It remembers the poverty caused by pits being closed down and, without excusing at all what happened in our country, this should not have happened. At the same time one should be fully aware that we are living in a country, we are living in a system, that does not permit the degradation of a person despite the fact that the shelves in shops are not full and despite the fact that it is experiencing such profound difficulties.

The criticism unleashed in our party and in our nation can be and is a source of strength. At the same time one feels that only communists could bring themselves to make such criticism of their own blunders. I wonder if anyone can show us such a social force in another world, in a nonsocialist world, or such a party, or such a government which is able to account and deal so thoroughly and in such a self-critical manner with various mistakes and foibles within itself, in its own organism. This is the source of our strength, our moral strength.

As a party we have not only an historic right and a political right but also a moral right to lead, thanks precisely to this capacity and ability which is provided by our ideology.

One of you, comrades, mentioned roots which lie deeply and which represent the generation that built socialist Poland and fought for it. If one is to develop this comparison and if one says that from these roots a tree has grown--the tree of our party and our system--then it should also be said that, although this tree has been damaged in the last few years, although it has bent down and quivered, it has not fallen down; now it is straightening up.

What matters is that the young generation, learning from the mistakes and experience of the older generation, should at the same time be aware of the fact that we see our hopes in them and that we switch on a green light for them, creating opportunities for them. At the same time we want, and should, insist that the generation use its phase of history to the best advantage of Poland. In order to bring up our youth in this spirit we cannot allow sharp and justified criticisms to be turned into the laceration of our own wounds and into masochism. The criticisms must be constructive, combined with the defense of what was good in the past and remains to this day the subject of our pride, what is the achievment of People's Poland, of the party, of every honest working citizen of our country. It would be an insult to all those who are grey-haired and also to their sons compelled to feel ashamed of their fathers and to treat them without respect--if one were to say that all that is behind us is erroneous and harmful. And yet, the enemy is trying to impose such an attitude.

The enemy is seeking to compel us to adopt such an attitude to the past, to adopt such a negation and deletion of the past. It is the great mission of our party, its moral mission, to prevent the withdrawal to such positions, because they would constitute a destructive factor, and we must build, create and develop socialist Poland. We must develop it in the spirit of, and in accordance with, the principles of socialist renewal. All of us here in this hall are fervent supporters of this renewal. We shall act in favor of this renewal and we shall defend it; and we are doing this in practical action. Yet renewal, democracy, and reform are great words, with very broad meanings. They are often interpreted differently; many people put different contexts into these words.

At the same time, the circumstances in which we are putting these concepts into life and in which we are implementing the tasks involved are not produced in the comfort of a laboratory, but in a difficult situation fraught with various tensions and conflicts. This is why we must, as members of the party, as the aktiv of the party, do our best to see that while supporting socialist renewal, democratization and reform, we should, at the same time, show concern that these concepts are not distorted, that they are not led astray, and that they are not diverted into a blind alley or, what is worse, onto a collision course. Renewal, in our interpretation, means the return to the norms of Leninism, the reconstruction of the leading role of the party on the healthy principles of support, the endowment of the working class with its proper position in the country, and the reconstruction and observance of the principles of social justice.

One could express this--and I refer here to the thought expressed by Comrade (Czol) and I want to use precisely the same words--by saying that renewal is meant to give us a better life. Indeed, we must all be better, we must be better at directing and at our work. I think that this could well stand for a synthesis of the renewal interpreted in the socialist way.

The process of democratization was developed in our country and in our party on a very wide scale. We are learning democratic ways; one might say we are bathing in democracy. This is understandable after the years of shortages of democratic forms of functioning. But, at the same time, let us remember that democracy is a form of exercising authority, a form of social life, while the fundamental content of the notion is man and his wellbeing, the nation and its interests.

Democracy, socialist democracy, should therefore give strength and reinforce efforts in that direction and help them achieve these objectives. [Word indistinct] of this factor because it contributes to collective wisdom, involves people in active public life and increases their sense of coresponsibility. Consequently, it is a stimulating factor and in it lies the great role of democracy and the great hope that all its ingredients, and especially the multiform and lively discussion, can be transmitted into practical and constructive action and into constructive solutions. If there were no such means of transmission into action, it could turn into disorder, confusion and disintegration, accompanied by the lowering of discipline of public life and labor.

Here I can see a very important relationship between the concept of democracy and the concept of a strong state. Only a strong state can provide conditions for real democracy, and only the development of democracy--in its turn--creates the conditions for the real power of the state. Democracy can come about successfully only within the structure of a strong state based on law and order. A socialist state is constituted, after all, by us--all the citizens of this country--and it is necessary to show concern for such a state and not allow it to be weakened, or that its functions be paralyzed. One must prevent all such actions on the part of the enemies of socialism which are aimed, sooner or later, at taking over the power of the state no matter how their intentions may be perfumed over with words, though, in most cases they are offered even without the perfume. This is why it is so important to strengthen the organs of the state, the instruments of state authority, which was so warmly referred to by the militia Lieutenant Bombelka, during yesterday's discussion; this was also referred to--in respect to the Army--by Comrade General (Lazarski).

This subject is closely connected with the issue of the threat to socialism being, automatically, a threat to Poland. Comrades, the sharpness of the climate, which was caused in this respect by the 11th plenum and the letter from the CPSU Central Committee, this sharpness has, in a sense, abated. But one has to realize and be aware of the fact that the matter, as such, the threat, as such, the danger, as such, does exist and continues.

The 11th Central Committee Plenum reaffirmed once more the line of socialist renewal, the line of accord; what is more, an accord interpreted not as a single act, not as a tactical truce, but as mutual understanding and trust, as a state of affairs which should be made permanent and which should renew the ties between the authority and the nation, between the party and the working class as well as the whole people. This is our great task and the congress should constitute a momentous stage along that path.

The 11th plenum confirmed its attitude and policy towards Solidarity in its capacity as a great workers' trade union organization of which millions of people--workers and people working in other spheres--are members. It confirmed its constructive attitude towards everything in Solidarity which serves our common cause. But at the same time it underlined that the line of accord and that the line of cooperation and partnership is threatened by opponent forces which are undermining this line. This is why it is so important that we return continually and steadfastly to the concept of the alliance of forces of prudence and responsibility, and that we all consistently oppose those forces which are leading, which could lead, Poland to catastrophe.

I mean the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] and the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN], the exceptionally dangerous programs they put forward, their statements and the activity in which they indulge. You see, all this is not simply views, as people sometimes say. These are not views which are aired in Hyde Park when the weather is fine. These are views which are voiced on the gunpowder keg which our disturbed country continues to be.

This is why we express such deep concern about not letting precisely these KOR or KPN forces, which recently have become very active, to attach themselves permanently to the great mass Solidarity movement. Their slogans and their programs are blatantly anti-socialist, anti-Soviet and antistate and put all honest people in Solidarity into an ambiguous situation. Solidarity cannot continue along the same road with these forces and these factors. You see, it is quite simply vital--not only politically but also morally vital--for Solidarity to separate itself and cut itself free from them and to define its place.

After all, this is one of the important conditions for our credibility in the eyes of the allies--that we are able to deal with the opponent ourselves, that we are able to consolidate and strengthen socialism, because all the basic and fundamental forces in this nation, irrespective of whether they affiliate themselves in this or that organization, in this or that trade union, are authentically in favor of socialism and reject everything that harms socialism. It is a point of honor for us, as patriots and internationalists, to defend socialism and not to go back a single step, and to do this ourselves. I am convinced that we shall be able to do this.

The position of Poland has recently weakened in Europe and in the world. This is painful because, after all, over a period of many years and throughout the whole of our history and through the whole of the 36-year period we were building this position. After all the policy, as we sometimes call it, of "national existence," was the strong foundation of this position. Foreign policy, defense policy, and the policy of the country's security--these were our strong points underpinned by economic development and underpinned by the work of the whole nation.

We are now experiencing a profound crisis which could not have failed to affect the prestige of Poland. At the same time, our internal situation and our internal difficulties coincide in time with complications in the international situation. Comrade General Krzysztoporski spoke about it. There is a certain attempt at encircling the socialist world on the part of imperialism which is stretching its hand even to China; at one time, it was far from being popular. In this respect we have a strong commitment. We cannot consider the situation in our country on its own. In this great historic confrontation existing between the two worlds, between two systems, our country occupies a special place. Now that there are so many flash points in the world, so many outstanding issues, so many conflict situations, the tension in our country may, all the more easily, lead to much graver consequences than at other times: it may indeed act as a detonator. Hence there is such concern on the part of our allies, such alarm on their part about this matter--a matter which is not only ours but is a common matter since the entire world could be drawn into its monstrous whirlpool.

The Soviet Union always wished for a strong and independent Poland. At the same time, we must always bear in mind and teach to our society that the Soviet Union provides us with a form of protection we could call, figuratively, an umbrella in two extremely important spheres: first, in the sphere of security and defense potential of our country and second, in the economic sphere.

For more than 30 years we had the luxury of security, the luxury of secure borders; properly speaking we have ceased to appreciate it. We treat this as one treats air--one breathes air but is hardly conscious of it. Yet this is not such a simple matter in this difficult world. Our borders have not at all been finally recognized by the adversaries of both socialism and Poland. There still exist very influential forces which especially now intensified their hopes for the revision of the results of World War II. Yet these borders, mapped out with the weapons of Soviet and Polish soldiers, were guaranteed to us, were granted to us, not because there was some momentary gain at work, but because these borders were linked with socialist Poland, allied and trustworthy to its allies.

If these factors were to stop operating, or if they are weakened, that guarantee would lose its strength. This ought to be remembered by all those who, in such an irresponsible manner, raise their hands against what in our alliance is inviolable, what we have to guard, what constitutes the content of the memory of our joint past, the blood we shed together.

There is also the economic umbrella: We have a difficult and hard situation, but if it had not been for assistance from the Soviet Union, if it had not been for the supplies of Soviet raw materials, loans, credits and the postponement of our payments connected with our indebtedness--it would be difficult to imagine the situation we would be in today.

This is that great lifebelt which is keeping us on the surface, from which we can look around and take steps aimed at recovering our stability.

Then there is the structure of the economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, the stability of supplies, especially of raw materials which are in such short supply and so difficult to obtain such as oil, ores and cotton; and the system of prices which is so advantageous to us, which in fact is frequently put in doubt, and this is another proof of the subversionist action of enemy propaganda. On the contrary, it is we who today are disturbing the economies of all our neighbors; we have infringed upon all the contracts and we ourselves realize what difficulties it must create. In this context it is necessary to put special emphasis on condemning the criminal activities which occurred in the form of desecration of cemeteries and monuments. One might say, so what, these are incidents which are unpleasant and painful and blameworthy but still only incidents, as [words indistinct]. But can this be reduced only to the dimension of mere incidents? No, such incidents arise in a specific climate. Why did such incidents not occur in the past? The answer is that now, through all forms of anti-Soviet propaganda--leaflets, newspapers, bulletins and posters as well as lectures and public meetings [word indistinct] attempts are being made to spread and publicize anti-Soviet propaganda to poison public awareness. It is this climate that creates a situation in which those who sow the anti-Soviet wind reap the storm of the criminal acts which, after all, must eventually turn against those who in fact, by engendering such a climate in which a hooligan, a drunk or a callow youth, acting on the wave of [word indistinct] of this climate, jeopardize the dignity of our nation, a nation with such great culture and tradition, a nation which can thus be blamed, or at least a part of it can, for some barbarous acts and its consequences.

Yesterday Comrade (Kamrusz) spoke here in a very fervent manner about the cause of alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union; I think that this is particularly timely in the days of the 40th anniversary of the attack of Hitler's troops upon the Soviet Union, an attack which--as a result of a heroic struggle of the people of the Soviet Union, the Polish people, and other peoples of Europe--led to an ultimate rout of fascism and the construction of socialist countries as well as the creation of socialist Poland. This we must never forget and I am glad that I was able to be the spokesman during the adoption by the conference of the text of a letter and an appeal addressed to the communists of the Ukraine, of the Donbas, on behalf of members of the party of the Katowice region.

Comrades, we are still in a very difficult situation but we must find a way out and I am convinced, our whole party is convinced, and I believe that our whole nation is becoming increasingly convinced that we shall find a way out of this difficult situation. This conference is a particularly good example of the fact that we can and must break out of the state and sense of defeat, bitterness and, above all, the state of impotence; this conference produced a good injection of optimism in this respect.

What we need is faith in our own resources, in the justice of our cause which in no way was undermined, because Marxism-Leninism--the foundation of our party--was not undermined; we must guard this foundation and we must act in accordance with the behests of Marxism and Leninism. Yet this faith in our own resources is also inspired by the experience of our people, especially the experience which derives from the last war and the postwar period. It was precisely thanks to the party and thanks to socialism that we rose from the bottom, that we came out of the state of complete devastation which followed the backwardness of the period between the two world wars, the backwardness of long decades, whole centuries, in comparison with other European countries. Yet in a relatively short time in history we managed to rebuild the country; and in this lies a great merit also of the working class of Silesia region. We well remember the day when the first trainloads of coal arrived in Warsaw. We also remember the coal which went to other European countries for making making it possible to rebuild our country faster. Someone may say: A critical moment has again arrived and they are coming to us for help. Indeed, this is true because here is the salt of the Polish earth, here is the bastion of Poland. At the same time it will never happen again that this is forgotten, and a supply of the necessary material benefits should flow to this land coupled with an expression of great respect and affection. [applause]

This is why, comrades, I spoke less today about material and economic effects, and the tasks which are facing us, realizing that our main reserve is the political and psychological reserve, the reserve which exists in people, in their hearts and minds. At one time, it was written--perhaps in a rather bombastic manner--on posters and pronounced aloud that "Polish people can do it". Indeed, the Polish people can do it. They must only be well led; it is necessary to find the way to them. Today, however, it is necessary to say: "The Polish people must do it," and I am convinced that Poles and Polish communists with our party at the head both can and must achieve a new historic step forward, overcoming consistently all that is evil and lead our nation along the path of victorious socialism. [applause]

Comrades, I would like to thank you cordially for the fact that I was able to take part in this very instructive conference. I have learned a great deal [words indistinct] and the representatives of the government present here in a considerable number will draw conclusions from this conference and will endeavor to use this experience in their further work. I am convinced and probably everybody is convinced that the achievement of this conference will constitute a very valuable contribution to the ninth congress, representing a very important stage leading toward the congress. The words with which I opened my address, that this rostrum is being watched by the whole country, do not amount merely to an expression used for the sake of the occasion; I believe that this conference will achieve precisely such a response from the country and that the delegation of more than 200 people from the Katowice Voivodship, which is to attend the congress, will set a party-like, fighting and attacking tone there which is characteristic of your sessions. I wish you this with all my heart. [applause]

Zabinski Elected Delegate

LD271430 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpt] A great deal of interest has been aroused both in Poland and abroad by the Katowice Voivodship party conference. Stanislaw [name indistinct] speaks of the course it took.

Toward morning, the PZPR voivodship programmatic and electoral conference in Katowice ended its session. New authorities were elected as well as voivodship party organizations and 127 delegates to the ninth congress.

Among the delegates to the congress is Andrzej Zabinski, member of the Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Katowice. During the 2-day session 42 delegates and conference guests delivered speeches, and 134 put their names down for the discussion.

Katowice Delegates Elected

LD271042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0930 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] After 31 hours, the Katowice Voivodship party conference ended during the night. The voivodship party committee, the voivodship Auditing Commission and the voivodship Party Control Commission were elected. The conference also elected 127 delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress. Together with 106 delegates chosen from the largest party organizations at mines, steelworks, factories and institutes of higher education Katowice Voivodship will be represented by 223 delegates.

Warsaw, Bydgoszcz, Konin Meet

LD271050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] In Warsaw, Bydgoszcz and Konin the last three in the cycle of voivodship report-back and election conferences before the ninth extraordinary congress got underway today.

Taking part in the Warsaw conference are Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee; Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, and Zygmunt Wronski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and a worker from the Ursus mechanical plant.

The guests at the conference in Bydgoszcz include Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the Council of State, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Taking part in the conference in Konin is Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

The conference will assess the current situation in their party organizations, map out future directions of activity and elect new voivodship committees and delegates to the ninth congress.

Kania at Warsaw Conference

LD271956 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The last three PZPR report-back and election conferences are being held in Warsaw, Bydgoszcz and Konin at the Warsaw meeting, Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, took the floor on behalf of the retiring executive. Here are excerpts from his speech:

[Begin recording] Many basic party organizations in Warsaw, due to their position in the establishments which govern the country, are jointly responsible on the national scale. Many of them, I would say, do not recognize this coresponsibility. It is our duty to change it. In this way we must help the government of General Jaruzelski fo this help is needed by him. The point is that our entire party organization should support the reconstruction of the state authority, responsibly and with respect for organized hierarchy and discipline, and lead the way to economic reform.

The reform is a great economic and political undertaking; it should bring the growth of self-management and independence, and at the same time, responsibility. It also should bring the consolidation of central strategic planning. Drafts concerning the reform are already in the Sejm. But this is only the beginning. The introduction will be the most difficult phase, because the introduction is a matter concerning the people, their enthusiasm and their opposition, their openness and concern for people and establishments.

It is a party obligation of our organization to support the reform in the party. It will not be implemented by managers--it is a social reform and not a technical one. The reform will disclose all weaknesses, poor work, and poor organization. Many people will be faced with the unpleasant prospect of changing places and responsibilities. All these issues will not be solved by government directives; mass party movement for the reform is necessary. [end recording]

Kania Supports Kociolek

LD272152 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The Warsaw program and election conference set its general election procedure. It was approved by a majority vote that the election of the first secretary of the Warsaw party committee will be made by secret ballot before the election of the Warsaw committee.

The candidacy of the present first secretary of the voivodship committee, Stanislaw Kociolek, was put forward. Next, the delegates asked the conference presidium to clarify the role of Stanislaw Kociolek in events which took place in December 1970 on the coast. In this matter Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee, took the floor and declared that Stanislaw Kociolek bears no responsibility for the tragic events on the coast, and also for events which occurred on 17 December 1970 in Gdynia. Stanislaw Kociolek favored the solution of the social conflict by political means. At the same time Stanislaw Kania recommended Stanislaw Kociolek to the post of first secretary of the Warsaw party committee. Stanislaw Kociolek also took the floor. After his speech a discussion took place in which Stanislaw Kania spoke again.

Kania Speech

LD281410 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0803 GMT 28 Jun 81

["Excerpts" from speech delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the Warsaw Voivodship election conference on 27 June--recorded]

[Text] Comrade Delegates! An assessment of the work done by the Warsaw committee is a very important duty of the conference. it is on this basis that the verification of the abilities and worth of the party leadership of an organization is carried out. A particular place in this is given over to the person of the first secretary everywhere, your organization included. A great deal depends on his abilities, character and authority, and you spoke about this a short time ago. This is why I think it is a normal and natural thing for there to be all these questions which seek to confirm these great values in a man who was first secretary of the Warsaw committee and who is a candidate for the post of first secretary. You will no doubt be assessing the competence of Comrade Kociolek as the leader of the Warsaw party organization. I think you will do this from the rostrum and also in your own minds, irrespective of the rostrum, when you take the pencils into your hands and vote or when you decide whether or not to put his name on the list of candidates for the function of first secretary.

I am convinced that there is every reason for giving a high assessment of Comrade Kociolek, for stating the integrity of his character, his boldness and his adherence to ideology in his exceptional, downright ardent, activity carried out in permanent contact with people. I think that he is a secretary equal to the needs of Warsaw, equal to the times and difficulties in which we are living, and to the threats which we must overcome, and overcome ourselves.

The fundamental questions pertaining to Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek refer to the past, refer to the December [1970] events. These events were the most tragic of all the events we have experienced in People's Poland's history.

We remember the victims, we remember the bitterness which befell not only the families of those who were killed but also all people of the party, all supporters of socialism; and it is no wonder that everything concerning this matter must be clear, the facts, the assessments and the people.

I do not think that there any grounds to suspect that anyone is interested in distorting the (?assessments). There are no grounds, despite the passing of many years--more than 10--to call into question any of the assessments which formed the foundation of the decisions of the Seventh Central Committee Plenum in December 1970. There are no grounds to call into question the assessments which were presented at the Eighth Central Committee Plenum in the first few days of February 1971 and then at the sixth congress. So what can one say today? That this was in essence--and we repeat this, and this is fundamental--the greatest workers' protest and that it should have been stopped by political means, that we sould have stopped the dramatic course of events on the coastal area which threatened to engulf the whole of the country in this monstrous conflagration. And the course of these events was stopped.

Afterwards we had other crises.

There was 1976 with the well-known street demonstrations in Radom and in Ursus. The law enforcement forces did not use arms then. So this was a conclusion, an important conclusion, which has found a permament place in the practice of solving conflicts. This was the conclusion gained from reflecting on the whole of the tragedy in 1970.

Today, we are faced with great tasks. It is no longer enough to solve crises and political conflicts using political means. We know that regarding this matter there is full determination, both in the party and also, rest assured, in the party leadership, and that we will be determined, in areas that depend on us, to seek solutions and overcome conflicts that arise in this manner. [as heard]

However, the most fundamental question is how to prevent crises in our country and the about-turns and upheavals that have been our lot. There have been many, affecting not only the party but, after all, all citizens. How can we prevent these crises? What can be done to make sure that our development, our socialist development, is unruffled? Thus, we have to build a system of vital and effective guarantees which must be created both by correct cadre policy, a system of selecting cadres, a democratic system, the development of socialist democracy, modern management and government and finally a party which functions according to Leninist principles.

We have been discussing this for many months now, after solving the menacing strike conflicts in the summer of 1980. We shall go with this to the congress. This is becoming the property of the whole party.

Now to the matter of Comrade Kociolek's position in the coastal area. In the past few months I have made statements on several occasions, both here at a plenum of the Warsaw committee when he was appointed to the post of first secretary, at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk and at the Komuna Paryska Shipyard in Gdynia. And how do the facts look?

Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek was in Gdansk throughout the whole of that dramatic week, that week in December. He went there on his own with the agreement of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the time. He felt he had something in common with the people of the coastal area. He had been active there from 1967, as first secretary of the Gdansk committee. He was a member of the shipyard's party organization.

Throughout his stay in Gdansk during that week all the facts bear out that he tried to act using political means and to solve the conflict using these methods. He appeared on many occasions on the radio and on television. Other people were also staying in the coastal area, other members of the Politburo, namely Comrades Ignacy Loga-Sowinski and Zenon Kliszko who, when all is said and done, had a decisive and determining role in all the decisions that were made there.

This emerges unambiguously from documents. This emerges from the investigations carried out.

So far no one--I can say this out loud--has put the blame on Comrade Kociolek for what took place in Gdansk itself. He is remembered in connection with Gdynia. Gdynia occupies a special place in the whole of the December events. I feel I have particularly close links with this town, with this shipyard. You see, I was there from the first days following the December events. I was witness to the drama which the whole of the party organization and the people fr[illegible]e shipyard were going through. I grasped the nature of what happened there, and [illegible]as of an exceptional nature.

An appeal was made to the striking shipyard workers that they return to work. This appeal was made when there had not yet been any acts of vandalism, no destruction of installations.

It was in the evening of 16 December 1970. The person who made the appeal was Comrade Stanislaw Kociolek. At the same time a decision was issued, a decision which had already been taken on that day, concerning the blockade of the shipyard, a blockade of the shipyard by force to prevent, even at the price of using force, the occupation of the shipyard by workers, by shipyard workers. Force was used and there were victims. We know all this, I do not want to repeat it. Recently, a great deal was said and written on the subject. In the whole series of events this was the most dramatic episode.

It must be emphasized with the greatest vigor--and I say this with full conviction and with knowledge of the matter concerned--that Comrade Kociolek had nothing at all to do with that last decision. All the evidence indicates that he did not know about the second plan and, therefore, he could not have sought ways of solving the contradiction. This contradiction was realized by the people, by our comrades in Gdynia. They tried to find a solution. They tried to obtain a decision, at least on withdrawal of the appeal. No agreement to this was forthcoming. It was suggested that they go from one house of the shipyard workers to another, calling off the action. Of course, this was unrealistic. But it was not Comrade Kociolek who was approached by the people with the request. It was not he who made the decision refusing the request.

In the morning, according to documents it was at 0949, Comrade Kociolek declared his position on the subject of categorically prohibiting the use of weapons in Gdynia. His stand was not accepted, it was overruled. And so there were great casualities. Comrade Kociolek returned to Warsaw on Saturday, I remember, just before the Seventh Central Committee Plenum. He realized that it was necessary to break that tragic course of events. The situation continued to be threatening. It was also dangerous here in the capital, where there was a danger of an explosion. He was aware of the fact that there was no other way of ending this tragedy than to make a change in the leadership. It can be said at this point that his doubts concerned only the identity of the candidate for the post of the new first secretary of the party.

At the Seventh Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Kociolek delivered the report on the assessment of the character of the events on the coast, the whole coast, not only in Gdansk. This was a bold assessment, in accord with the feelings of the party. For a short time Comrade Kociolek held the post of Central Committee secretary. Already at the eighth plenum, in the early days of February, however, the Central Committee accepted his resignation from the posts of Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee. This was his own voluntary resignation. You are familiar with his career since then. In his speech at the Central Committee plenum he stated, and I quote from documents of the plenum: I declare that I do not bear the burden of a feeling of personal responsibility for the casualties that resulted from the incidents. I have wanted to make this quite clear, but because of these casualties I bear the burden of the moral tragedy of the party, as well as my own personal tragedy as a party activist. In his letter to the Central Committee, at that time, at the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, he wrote: As one of the members of the Politburo present at the Gdansk coast during the December events, I failed, within the scope of my political responsibility, to prevent the extremely complex and difficult course of events.

Comrade Kociolek was the only member of the Politburo at the time, as well as the only member of the party leadership, to resign his post. The Central Committee had to dismiss others. Did he resign because of his awareness of his own guilt or because of his character? The question is altogether a rhetorical one. It is his character that brought it about, the probity of his character dictated that he should adopt this stand. Neither did he wish, as he said after the plenum, to cramp, perhaps, someone's style in the new composition of the leadership. I am of the opinion that such character should be appreciated. People of this kind do not let one down.

I remember, immediately after the events, long meetings with communards, workers of the Komuna Paryska Shipyard. I have twice been elected as deputy to the Sejm from that area; and at that time, in those most dramatic moments, immediately after the events during a discussion that lasted many hours, voices were raised publicly underlining the values of Comrade Kociolek. This took place in the shipyard where the greatest drama occurred. I myself am also familiar with these tragic truths. Therefore, I can say with full conviction that there is no question of Comrade Kociolek's responsibility for the December events. This is all as regards the issue of clarification. Our times are times of struggle: Not merely clarifications are being sought and questions are being asked not simply to make things clear; this does not apply to us assembled here in this hall but to our opponents. Various opportunities are being sought to hit at, to undermine the credibility and prestige of the most valuable people, people with the greatest degree of adherence to principles, people dedicated to the party and to socialism.

In the new conditions following the Sixth Central Committee Plenum Comrade Kociolek assumed the function of first secretary. At the time, I was the initiator of this decision because I had known him since old times, since the times of the December events. He takes a regular part in the work of the Politburo. Everyone appreciates his role. He is a man, I can emphasize this also with full conviction, of the line of socialist renewal to which, we stress here, there is no sensible alternative; which, I am convinced, will be fully confirmed by the congress. We want to defend this line. And, therefore, if the question is asked, what will our, the Politburo's and my personal attitude be to the issue of appointing Comrade Kociolek the first secretary of the Warsaw party organization, I can give an unequivocable positive answer that he is a secretary who meets our contributions, to the role which is expected and which objectively falls on the Warsaw party organization.

The stance I am taking is based on facts and on my conviction. This stance presented here constitutes a consciously drawn conclusion of this burden of responsibility which sits heavily upon us, on the collective of the Politburo and on me personally. I am aware of this responsibility, the responsibility for overcoming (?all) our difficulties through our own efforts, and for eliminating everything that threatens not only socialism but also the independence of Poland. So, comrades, when you come to decide whether to place the name of Comrade Kociolek on the list and whether to entrust the post of first secretary of the Warsaw committee to him, take into account that I am treating this as a vote not only for the stance of the whole Politburo but for my own stance. I would also like to treat this as an act of political confidence in my stance. Do not forget also that the Warsaw party organization is not simply one of 49 organizations. Its significance is exceptional not only becuase of its size but also because of its role in the capital, Warsaw, because of the great significance of the voivodship, and also because of the great [word indistinct], the great weight of the moment, the historical moment in which we are living. The whole world is looking at us, both the friendly socialist world which wishes us well and supports us in overcoming the crisis, the Soviet friends and all our other allies, and the cold, calculating world which is building up hope that it will be possible to reverse our country's political system. Let this awaken in all of us a sense of deep responsibility.

Discussion, comrades, of crises and demands for full elucidations--and one is talking not only of the 1970 crisis but is recalling 1976 [as heard], the 25th anniversary of the Poznan events--are, as is known, declining; past events which were dramatic, we recall them and celebrate this anniversary to serve as a warning that this must never happen again, and in order to express the fact that both the authorities and the representative organizations of the community ought to attach equal importance both to the fact that there should be no reason for conflicts and that they should be solved by peaceful, political means. However, the most important task that is facing us, let's not forget comrades, our most important task is to do all possible to extricate ourselves from the present crisis and from the great dangers that are hanging over Poland, and also to draw from this all the necessary conclusions.

Warsaw Ballot Results

LD272142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpt] At the Warsaw party conference organization ballot results were announced. Out of 438 votes cast, Stanislaw Kociolek received 247, and Zbigniew Chrupek 132 votes. Stanislaw Kociolek is first secretary of the Warsaw party committee.

Response to Moscow Message

LD281514 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Discussion continues at the Warsaw party programmatic and election conference, which resumed its deliberations this morning.

In reply to a letter sent to the delegates of the Warsaw conference by the Moscow Municipal CPSU Committee, the participants in the conference have sent a message to the Moscow communists in which they say, among other things:

Being aware of the complicated conditions in which we conduct our struggle, we are absolutely determined to consolidate the Marxist-Leninist character of our party and its leading role, and to fulfill the historic goals of socialism, backed by the working class and patriotic national forces. Poland has been and will remain a durable and credible link to the socialist community.

Warsaw Conference Continues

LD281507 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1230 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Discussion continues at the Warsaw PZPR programmatic and elections conference, which at 0900 today resumed the debates that started yesterday. One hundred and six delegates entered their names in the list of speakers. The preparations for elections, election of first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR committee Stanislaw Kociolek, who was reelected, and other procedural matters took more than 16 hours.

The participants in the conference observed a minute of silence to pay tribute to the memory of those who fell during the tragic events in Poznan in June 1956. It was decided to send a letter to the Poznan Voivodship party committee expressing support for this committee's resolution on dignified, thoughtful and reflective commemoration of this anniversary.

The first participants in the discussion spoke, among other things, on problems of shaping national and class awareness of our society. They strongly criticized the state of history taught in both secondary schools and in higher education institutions.

The speakers pointed out the need for fuller use of the scientific potential of the Warsaw Academic Center in developing research into national history and the patriotic upbringing of the new generation.

The participants in the discussion are also speaking of internal party issues, stating that the PZPR must implement a class policy, which will guarantee a return to Leninist norms of action. It was said that the recurrence of a situation in which the party authorities say one thing and the party rank and file another must be resolutely opposed.

The deliberations of the Warsaw party conference are attended by the following Politburo members: Stefan Olszowski, secretary of the party Central Committee, and Zygmunt Wronski.

Olszowski Elected Delegate

LD290848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] As we reported previously, the Warsaw programmatic and election conference suspended its deliberations for several hours at about 0430 this morning.

The returning commission published the results of elections to the leadership of the Warsaw party organization and of delegates to the ninth congress. There were 169 candidates for election as delegates to the congress. In a secret ballot, 62 received more than 50 percent of valid votes and thus the mandate of delegate. Among those elected are: Stefan Olszowski, Stanisalw Kociolek and Albin Siwak.

Since, in accordance with the regulations, the Warsaw party organization should be represented at the congress by 90 delegates, the conference will elect another 28 persons in a second ballot. A similar situation prevails as regards the elections of the 120 members of the Warsaw Voivodship Party Committee; 113 people gained a sufficient number of votes and another 7 will be elected by the conference today.

Members of the Warsaw Party Control Commission and Auditing Commission were also elected.

The conference is to resume at 1100 today.

Konin Conference Begins

LD280204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The PZPR voivodship report-back and election conference began at 0900 today in Konin. Two hundred ninty-five delegates representing the voivodship's nearly 35,000-strong party organization are debating in the hall. Among the invited guests are: Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, Zbigniew Bartosiewicz, minister of power industry and atomic energy, and Jerzy Misiewicz, deputy head of the Department of Social and Professional Affairs of the PZPR Central Committee. Tadeusz Grabski is a candidate for the ninth extraordinary party congress. Issues connected with the fuel and power engineering complex and the project of developing the aluminium Konin steel factory constitute the most important problems preoccupying the Konin Voivodship.

Grabski, Ciupa to be Delegates

LD291110 Warsaw PAP in English 0813 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Jun (PAP)--The PUWP report and election Konin Voivodship conference came to an end today. The conference re-elected Lech Ciupa 1st secretary of voivodship committee.

Elected were also 22 delegates to the 9th PUWP Congress, among them member of the Political Bureau, CC Secretary Tadeusz Grabski and Lech Ciupa.

Grabski's Konin Remarks

LD290145 Warsaw PAP in English 2034 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Jun (PAP)--Member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Tadeusz Grabski took the floor yesterday during the PUWP report and election conference in Konin. Excerpts:

The 11th PUWP CC Plenum pointed to dangers posed by the activity of irresponsible people and enemy forces striving to weaken our alliances, especially the alliance with the Soviet Union. Therefore, the 11th plenum and most of the society have fully endorsed the need to counter the threats to the socialist system in Poland.

The pre-congress campaign has given the party a lot of previous experience which should now be consolidated. This is true in particular of democratization of the party and the changed ways of its performing of its leading role.

Grabski outlined the work of the special commission for investigating the responsibility of former leaders. A report of this commission will be ready in a matter of days. The commission will submit proposals for statutory provisions which would prevent repeated crises and deformations in the life of the party. According to him, the powers of the PUWP CC first secretary and the Political Bureau should be defined and an obligation should be laid on members of the party apparatus, central and local, to put in question decisions and actions which do not agree with the conscience and sense of responsibility of a party member.

Alongside the many achievements of the report and election campaign, one cannot fail to notice weak points in it, such as the party's vacillation, the wishy-washy character of its ideological face. There are reformers in the party who would like to make it a social-democratic or a Christian-democratic party or deprive it of its ideological face. Countering those ideas, we must also reckon with the fact that also after the 9th congress we shall have to struggle for the proper face of the party.

Decentralizing tendencies leading to a disruption of the party are particularly disquieting. They are an immediate consequence of the failure to observe the principles of democratic centralism. The activity of the so-called horizontal structures striving to diarchy in the party is a symptom of the disruptive phenomena in the party.

Another shortcoming of the report and election campaign was that it failed to counter a total criticism of the past, the whole attainment of the Polish People's Republic. All the constantly decreasing share of workers in party authorities and among delegates to the congress is a negative phenomenon. The elections have confirmed that not always the best people are elected. Merited activists who have done a good job for Poland were often disqualified only because they served a party function in the previous period.

Anarchy and chaos are the most important danger to our country. We must counter them by party and all-social actions. We need a strong state like water and air in order to steer economic processes and overcome the crisis.

I am not an enemy of renewal, but I am a firm enemy of disrupting the party, of [word indistinct] the state, manipulating the working class by enemies of socialism and attempts at undermining our system, Tadeusz Grabski concluded.

More on Grabski Remarks

LD281836 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] The voivodship report-back and election conference in Konin which started at 0900 on Saturday has ended after nearly 21 hours with only brief breaks for snacks and cigarettes.

In the course of the debate the floor was taken by Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Grabski. He said that the precongress campaign which is nearing completion has been conducted in difficult political and social conditons. This resulted in the first place from the situation in the party itself, which is overcoming shortcomings due to ideological neglect and which is going through the drama of crisis in a state of mistrust, grief and resentment.

However, the campaign was accompanied by great expectations that the congress will resolve all problems and issues and that it will safeguard against degeneration and deformation to avoid crisis.

The PZPR Central Committee secretary said that a manifestation of this is the destabilization of political, social and economic life, with Poland's position on the international scene having been weakened at the same time. Many threats must also arouse the anxiety of true communists. They pertain to the foundations of the nation's existence, the sovereignty and security of borders and good alliances, that is, to all that will determine the country's successful development and the possibilities of extricating it from the crisis.

Barcikowski, Others in Wroclaw

LD261654 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The report-back and election conference of the PZPR in Wroclaw began at 0900. The 85,000-strong voivodship party organization is represented by 353 delegates elected at municipal, municipal-parish, and parish conferences. The guests include Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Minister of Justice Sylwester Zawadzki, alternate member of the PZPR Central Committee; chairman of the Radio and Television Committee Zdzislaw Balicki; Minister of Heavy and Agricultural Machines Industry Stanislaw Wylupek; and director of the Economic Sciences Insittute of the Polish Academy of Sciences Jozef Pajestka.

On behalf of the outgoing executive of the voivodship echelon, the report was read by first secretary of the voivodship committee, Prof Tadeusz Poeebski, who has been in this post for the past 8 months. The assessments of the echelon's activity during the past term stress, among other things, that main undertakings have been concentrated in the hands of the voivodship committee Secretariat, except for the plenum. The voluntarist personnel policy was not conducive to a satisfactory work of the echelon. A great deal of harm was also done by the voluntarism and even arrogance of some members of the Secretariat when adopting economic decisions.

Prof Tadeusz Porebski said, however, that at present the destiny of the whole country, the destiny of our future and that of our children, is in the balance.

At 1100, the discussion on including Comrade Tadeusz Porebski on the list of officers began. He resigned before the conference from activity in the authorities of the voivodship organization. Many delegates urged Comrade Porebski to withdraw his resignation.

Literally this minute, I have received the news that Comrade Tadeusz Porebski has indeed withdrawn his resignation and has been entered on the list as the sole candidate for the post of first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Wroclaw.

Porebski Elected First Secretary

LD261700 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] At the Wroclaw party conference which began today, Tadeusz Porebski was reelected first secretary of the voivodship committee.

Barcikowski Wroclaw Speech

LD282130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0603 GMT 28 Jun 81

["Extensive excerpts" from speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at 27 June report-back and election conference in Wroclaw--recorded]

[Text] Please allow me, comrades, during the discussion at your conference, to make my stand known on several matters.

I should stipulate right from the outset that what I am about to say is not an election speech. I proceed from the assumption that matters too important and pertaining to the country and party are at stake for today to be a time to score points off one another. I do not hide, either, that what I am saying comes from the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee. This session was, in my deepest conviction, more important than one could conclude from the course of the discussion at the conference.

I shall say quite openly that I am worried by the fact that the importance of the letter from the CPSU Central Committee to our party has been underestimated. I am also worried by the fact that the decisions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of our party have been underestimated. You see, both the former and latter are facts of the greatest importance for the country and for our party.

As regards the first matter then, these are matters of our party. Today we all give these matters pride of place, conscious of the problems we are faced with. I shall say something obvious--but I think this is something worth noting: No one in the world has built socialism or defended socialism without a Marxist-Leninist party.

One can also find in our conditions various forces which consider themselves to be creators or cocreators of renewal. But our party is the guarantor of this renewal--socialist renewal, of course, which is carried out on the basis of the principles of socialism. And I must also say that to date no one has put forward proposals for statutory solutions which would push the process of renewal forward. In essence, it was only in the case of the censorship law that we had discussion on two draft laws--the government draft and the draft of the so-called social committee. The remaining laws were drawn up on our initiative and were drawn up by teams of our comrades and nonparty specialists appointed on the initiative of the party leadership or the government leadership. I am referring here both to the law on the trade union and to the law on enterprises, on workers' self-government, on peasants' self-government, the law on People's Councils which is being prepared and on the cooperative movement.

In essence, today we are having to deal with a reverse phenomenon rather than the one which took place in the recent past, since the draft laws which were submitted to the Sejm are the object of opposition by Solidarity and are under fire from demands that further amendments be made to them.

I think that none of us here are in any doubt that the ninth party congress will confirm the party's line aimed at reforms in the economic and sociopolitical system of the country--generally speaking, the party's line aimed at renewal.

I said that the party was the guarantor of this renewal. (?Believe) me, the party wants this renewal and the party will also be able to do this. The course of the discussion leaves us in no doubt as to this. The party imparts credibility to this renewal precisely because of the fact that it settles its socialist nature. Of course, there are conditions which we have to fulfill as a party in order that we exercise a leading role in this renewal. This is beyond party initiative; I am thinking of intellectual and political initiative. What is needed quite simply is the strength of our party, strength--one of the conditions of which is unity of action by the party--and the genuine restoration to the party of its leading role in the life of the state and society.

This is not a question, comrades, of semblances of this leading role. The opponents of our party are suggesting that in essence it should be content with the semblances of power. This is a question of its position in the literal meaning of the word, of its being the force which is capable of leading the country.

We are all stressing that the process of mending the mistakes of the past is very painful. We have stressed that what we want is the mending of mistakes committed in relation to socialism. We reject deviations from socialism. This must be emphasized because of the fact that theories function in our life today--Comrade (Walas) spoke about them from this rostrum--theories which formulated a path of departure from socialism. And this has to be seen. Today, among the various reassessments being carried out in Poland, we also have attempts to return to old ideologies, to the ideologies of Pilsudski, Dmowski, and of other groups from the interwar period. And however one views the matter, comrades, such an about-face is nothing more than a return to the old times, to what was, after all, tested politically in former Poland. We know how this ended.

Among the various things which we have to solve then, comrades, is that we are faced with such tasks as raising the political culture in our own activities.

Nowadays I very often meet comrades, and even more often people outside our party, who are proud of the fact that in the past they were not active and, speaking figuratively no doubt, pull their hands out of their pockets and show you that they are clean. Well, if they have been keeping them in their pockets then they did not have an opportunity of getting them dirty. In my opinion this is not the best recommendation at the stage of the renewal and I think we should not make a virtue out of keeping our hands in our pockets in any period. And there are, comrades, grounds for renouncing what our party achieved during these years--well, we have got such a bent for self-castigation right now, for exposing everything that was bad. I do not wish to cover up everything that was bad and neither should the party cover up everything that is bad. Quite the opposite: It should subject everything to analysis and draw conclusions from this for constructive activity.

But has nothing in fact happened in this country for 36 years? Have we really got nothing but ruin and destruction? And what about this hall? Where did it come from? And what about all of us? Did we not grow up from this Polish revolution? And which one of us here is not an offshoot of this revolution? And are there few people like us in Poland? Do we have to renounce this? Well, I do not know about you, but there are people in this hall, and I am among them, who remember Wroclaw in ruins and who have the right to admit that it was thanks to their efforts that this Wroclaw was raised up. Perhaps it is not ideal, but when all is said and done there will still be people after we are gone who will still have something to do to improve life. And, comrades, we have the right to ask: What political force was it that made it possible to lead the Polish nation out onto the path of [word indistinct] and hundreds of thousands of Poles wandering about the country in the first years after the war found their place on this soil; and that there was such a force that decided on Poland's foreign policy and managed to lead the nation to a secure existence, and so on, and so on?

I shall not develop this but I wish to point out my stand here on these matters.

In this context I would also like to make my stand known on the matter of the mass media. If, for instance, one were to assess what the mass media writes through the prism of our internal party discussions, then one would have to admit that they write very timidly. The difference between party meetings and editorial meetings is that articles stem from editorial meetings. This does not mean at all that everything that we record in writing in today's press is of the highest value and deserves such great praise. I only wish to point out that there is a certain (?loosening) of political criteria which is taking place in the party and that this is also common in the mass media. After all, our comrades also work there and they experience all their own (?confusion). But, of course, we must require more from them and this is vital.

What for me personally is the saddest thing--and I would say with some embarrassment [words indistinct]--is the fact that many of our comrade journalists have somehow switched with tremendous ease from the propaganda of success to black propaganda. Whereas everything before was good and (?working), now everything, if I may say so, is almost worthy of the scrapheap. And, after all, there is no reason why we should resign ourselves to this fact. It must be a matter of importance for us, and I think that it must also be a matter of importance for our comrades in the mass media, to bring assistance to the party which finds itself in a difficult situation and to count on the assistance of the mass media.

One of the comrades in the discussion called into question the assessment of the 11th plenum on precisely this (?point). Of course, there is nothing that cannot be subjected to discussion. One can also discuss the decision of the 11th plenum. But I would like to point out that the discussion would be more credible for me if you at the same time were to say something about the hostile propaganda which is carried out both against our party and against matters which the party considers to be fundamental in the life of the state. But if we direct all the time [words indistinct] and criticism at our own internal matters, then by force of circumstances we avoid difficult matters. But, after all, in Wroclaw these difficult matters are not so rare. When all is said and done a whole host of anticommunist literature is printed in Wroclaw.

And this is happening, after all, before the very eyes of our party organizations and frequently at state enterprises, as, for instance, the latest publication on the subject of Katyn. Why should we pass this matter by without noticing it? Why such a timed attitude? Has it really some justification, some motive behind it? Naturally, when one speaks about demands addressed to mass information media it is necessary to put on record that there cannot be any return to the propaganda such as existed before August 1980. In my opinion, we have until now--and will continue for a long time to come--borne the cost of the disinformation of the nation, among other things, on the subject of economic life which I find close to my interests because of my education.

Thorough and objective information must serve the formation by the people including members of the party of their own judgments about the position in which we find ourselves, what our possibilities of action are, and what we cannot afford to do at present. Only then will we be able to carry out a businesslike conversation. Hence the great need for such propaganda and such a commitment on the part of party journalists and all the journalists who are working with a sense of social service on the side of the party.

Naturally, we returned in our discussions to the matters of the program, to the congress. We are at the stage of a great party debate.

I must say that the demands concerning the program seem to me, to some extent, insufficiently justified because the basic documents that have been published in preparation for the program pertain, precisely, to the issues of the program. At the congress we will have to adopt a decision on the basis of these documents and on the basis of the discussion, and perhaps it will be necessary to set up a commission, already suggested here by Comrade Orzechowski, which will draw up the party's program as a basic document of ideological character that could be of a more lasting nature. However, what we can say on the subject today boils down to what is, for the most part, already contained within the draft submitted to the congress and, as I see it, the congress will be able to make progress on these issues.

Yet I must also say that in our discussions and exhortations about the program I, personally, notice a sort of shadow of faith that all of a sudden a miracle will happen because we shall have a program which will decide everything, and, in a way, will itself ensure the implementation of all that has to be done.

Comrades, I simply do not share such a faith. On the contrary, I am firmly convinced that the congress itself will not change our life, or else, will change it only insofar as we all begin together to change that life. Perhaps the congress should mark a turning point in our thinking and in our searches for constructive measures aimed at the improvement of the situation.

Another matter that I wanted to talk about is the question of the economic situation which, as we have all stated, is a difficult one. But I would like, comrades, to dwell for a while on the actual state of affairs in this sector, not as far as details are concerned but as regards the fundamentals of our economic situation.

Comrades, have the resources of Poland declined since last year? Surely not. The resources have not diminished: We have been exploiting fewer amounts of them, and as we obtain fewer raw materials we are unable to provide an adequate supply of materials to industry.

The second question: Has our national wealth diminished in the same period? Have we become poorer in the sense of our capital equipment and plant? Sure not. Despite the difficulties with investments in the last few months our wealth has in fact increased through the addition of new assets which came into use. Yet the problem again lies in the fact that we are not making full use of our wealth, especially in respect of home-produced raw materials and materials coming from imports. Few people realize in Poland nowadays that, in fact, only the raw materials supplied by the Soviet Union are coming in according to plan; everything else runs below the levels envisaged in the plan. Here again there is something we can try to improve on.

The question is whether there exist premises, practical ones, which might be capable of providing a turning point for the better in the trend of our production performance, which has so far been a downward one. Personally I am convinced that such premises do exist. In actual fact it all depends, above all, on the will of us all to ensure that such improvement, at long last, takes place or begins to take place.

Of course there are limits and difficulties in the attempt to reverse the trend. One of them is the situation of our balance of payments, but it, too, depends on change. If we increase output and stabilize the situation within the country, as well as start regaining credibility in the eyes of our economic partners, some relief will become evident in this sector, too.

Let us, comrades, say this openly: It is not the level of Poland's indebtedness that constitutes its main problem today because, indeed, there are countries in the world that are prosperous and flourishing yet which are very much more in debt than we are.

Our problem lies in our inability to meet payments which become due, to draw benefits, so to speak, from what is known as steady participation in world trade changes including credit transactions. This, too, must be noted if one is to realistically approach the problems that face us.

I am speaking of these matters with a slight embarrassment but I wish to declare myself here sincerely as an ardent supporter of the economic reform. I share the opinion that in it lies the only path to a long-term introduction of order in our internal affairs, as I link the economic reform to all its social consequences. In my opinion the economic reform should lead to a self-governing system of public life in Poland, starting with enterprises, through People's Councils at all-levels to socioeconomic organizations, and so on. There is no doubt that the congress will confirm the necessity of bringing about a reform as being the will of our whole party.

I would also like to note that it is not true that there is no question of any time limits and any accepted principles involved. As of 1 July the reform in the state farms becomes valid, and so does the reform of the small-scale manufacturing industry. As of 1 December we are to introduce a reform of the overwhelming majority, if not all, economic enterprises. But at the same time I wish to say with honesty that I am alarmed by many of the speeches in support of the reform, in which one could sense a lurking illusion that once we have introduced the reform everything will be settled.

On this issue I am perhaps a little at variance with Professor (Kaleta). I think that the biggest mistake is being made by those comrades who are of the opinion that the reform is intended to make things easier. No, the reform--if it is to fulfill its task--must place higher demands before us all. It is not the question of it being easier but of it being better. We are to manage our economy more effectively after the reform has been introduced. Yet in order that this should be achieved it will be necessary to use one's head to much better effect and with more conviction than at present because every enterprise will be responsible for its own management and, therefore, each one will be as well off as its management technique allows it. A reform must therefore be brought in, this is clear. But it would be a mistake, comrades, if we decided to wait until the reform has been introduced before we launched constructive action. After all, many of the old systems have fallen to pieces in our country and we are unable to pick up the pieces.

In the interval during the debate I had a talk with farmers about the procurement of milk. Few inhabitants of towns realize that in this field there has been in existence for years a system from which we could well learn a lesson about efficiency. If milk is not collected by 0800, it is no use arriving to collect it at 1000. And if one takes into account that from millions of farms this tiny trickle of milk finds its way to the procurement centers and that it is necessary to ensure that it is then carried further, then one will become aware that efficiency decides everything here. (?And, indeed), comrades, (?in the past) the system really worked. And today I am being told by farmers that one day milk collection crews do come and another day they do not. Sometimes they come earlier, on another occasion they arrive late. Well then, what does this prove? It proves laxity and a lack of discipline and order.

The example of this milk collection system is for me (?indicative) with regard to many other similar situations. The lack of elementary order, elementary care is being replaced by us with big slogans and big demands. Yet nobody will ever allow us to give up such care and concern; here is where our effort must begin. No one will comprehend our problems unless we reevaluate care for better performance, in the conditions of our economic problems that we have.

There are all the conditions necessary for us to try to gradually get out of the crisis situation instead of being bogged down in a feeling of hopelessness and constant frustration.

There is a light at the end of the tunnel; there is a brighter spot to be found in the present situation of our agriculture. Here I would like to say that this has not been without reason. One of the speakers in the debate spoke with a certain amount of disregard for the principles of the agrarian policy proclaimed by our party and the United Peasant Party. Strictly speaking I have got his point: This comrade raises the issue of the guidelines on the subject (?not being properly) implemented. But the political guarantees which have thus been granted to individual farmers are having effect precisely through the means of the increase (?in the use of the land). And this is the best indication that farmers are aiming at increasing their farms and at setting up new farms. (?If a farmer buys more land, it means) that he believes in what we have written down to the effect that this is a permanent form of farming and will enjoy the support of the state.

There has been implemented an important stage of the policy of procurement prices with regard to agriculture, and certain other measures have also been put into effect. But, naturally, we are far from a situation in which all the conditions of the implementation of this policy have been settled. [passage indistinct] However, our impotence remains without change in the sphere of the provision of means of production for agriculture. Here we come back to the situation in industry, to the decline in the output of industry [passage indistinct] Here it is necessary to look for opportunities [word indistinct].

Today, with regard to agriculture and to ourselves, we have one most important task to deal with: to gather in properly all the crops of the land and to make good use of them. In the situation in which we find ourselves today this task must be regarded as a national task.

I shall not speak in greater detail of market issues. But I should like to make one comment, and here I completely share the view of Comrade (Kaleta): If we want to put our economy in order, we shall shortly be faced with the need for a national discussion on the subject of economic solutions in the context of the changes in prices, above all for food articles, but not exclusively for food articles. This constitutes one of the fragments of reform, but how difficult it is. We have, after all, collected a great stock of experiences which are not good in this area. Thus we have to make a U-turn and start seeking agreement so as to start collecting good experiences. In any case without this we shall not achieve either the liquidation of waiting lines or the equilibrium which is so much needed.

The third issue about which I wanted to say a brief word is the necessity of seeing our economic tasks through the prism of striving for the unification of the efforts of the community for the sake of changing the situation. Of course, today we all criticize the party for everything, comrades. However, I should like to make the point that there are now two kinds of responsibility in Poland. Both are important. There is the responsibility for what happened up to August 1980. It falls above all on the party. But, comrades, what has been happening since August 1980 falls on both the party and Solidarity. After all, many solutions were made here which were forced, and there is no point in pretending that we do not know this or that we do not see this. It is also necessary to pose the question about the way that Solidarity wants to involve itself in positive activities, in taking joint responsibility for what is happening in the Polish economy and in Polish sociopolitical life.

The situation in our country today is in a way such that we have very many people who control things. I remember a conversation some time ago with one of the older comrades [words indistinct] energy and in such a friendly conversation he instructed me always to remember that there has to be a correct proportion between the watchdogs and the doers. We have today numerous watchdogs, but note that this does not improve the situation. On the contrary, we control more and more, but [words indistinct]. So perhaps one ought to have a look round for other methods of joint work and cooperation. Otherwise, there will be nothing to control.

Of course, I shall repeat something that we have expressed many times, namely that our party decisively and consistently supports the workers' trend of Solidarity. And we have a reason for saying this but we must establish a decisive opposition in respect of small politics and downright hostile activities, hostile toward our party and toward our state, which are conducted by activists who are clearly a long way from the workers' milieu, but who seek in Solidarity a base for themselves. It is a good thing to say this openly and it ought to be remembered because it is precisely there that the fate of our nation is played with; it is there that anti-Soviet actions are born, in accordance with new parties, various kinds of pressurizing, and destroying (?other objectives) which portend nothing else but the next stage of the struggle for power.

I do not think that any of you are in doubt as to the fact that we do not want to surrender this power and we shall not surrender it. There is one Polish state and solutions must be found in which care for this state as a superior good will be needed. One can come across various views in our country [words indistinct]. It is true: A nation can exist without a state. But such a nation will be a subordinated nation. All Polish uprisings were a struggle precisely for a state, as only the possession of its own state gives a nation independence. Today we have a state. Why is it valued so little? Why do we treat so disrespectfully in our country everything that represents an embodiment of this state? Could it be that we have forgotten the price of having our own state?

Finally, the next issue is that of the credibility of Poland in international relations. I should like to observe that this subject should not be brought into political relations only, because in general when we present the issue in this way we have in mind relations with our allies, and it is also necessary to see this in an economic context. And, comrades, let us take a look at the way capitalist countries view this situation of ours, what attitude they take toward it. Are we a trustworthy partner for these capitalist countries today? No. [passage indistinct] In the first place they have excluded us from their [word indistinct] relations. [passage indistinct] There exists a lack of faith there that we shall pull ourselves out by our own efforts from the existing problems.

We have every reason to speak to two main trends of treating the affairs of Poland by the political spheres in those countries. The first is a trend stemming from circles which are oriented toward relaxing international relations and which is presented by serious politicians of that world. This is a direction, an orientation, for stabilizing the situation in Poland as a country which constitutes an important link and an important factor of European politics and which stems from the awareness of the fact that lack of stability in this place, in Poland, must lead to enormous confusion in European relations and to great changes in the makeup of forces in Europe. [Words indistinct] destabalization in Poland, for the breakdown of the Polish state and for making Poland a bartering counter in power politics. Perhaps this Poland could be trade, say, for Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia or Zambia, indeed, coming out of this disturbance of the equilibrium of the forces in Europe and to a new division of the world--this is a very tempting prospect for cold war politics. It is a prospect that can be observed: it occurs in talks with our diplomats, and with our representatives abroad. This is, after all, no secret.

Would Poland be such a bartering counter for the first time? It has been one before. It is enough to go back to the period of partitions, to the year 1939, to the years immediately after 1945. After all, the armed struggle that was taking place for power in Poland was taking place with the involvement of an international element. Then there was enough money for supporting such activities, and do not worry, there will be enough money today, too. Intelligence services have sufficient amounts of money at their disposal to feed this type of activity in Poland.

This should be remembered and known because there are (?in our country) enough overt provocative activities directed precisely at our present power.

It is also necessary to realize that our alliances with socialist countries constitute a bilateral obligation. We must fulfill these alliances if we want them to be fulfilled in respect of us. Hence every conscious man is horrified by activities [words indistinct] is happening in Poland, in which are put forward demands for a revision of the treaties of Yalta, Tehran and Potsdam, treaties on which Poland stands and on which the European order was based after the war when Hitlerite Germany demanded and later reviewed the Treaty of Versailles on which the European order after World War I was built. This was precisely the path toward the cataclysm which seized the whole world. But to support its policy Germany built a great military power. Who in Poland, what conscious person, could demand a revision of these treaties? In whose interest could this be? And (?yet) Poles are doing this--those who, one would think, are believers.

And one other thing: Very critical comments were made here about the leadership of the party. The leadership of the party and [words indistinct] we are criticized from a great variety of standpoints--because we are implementing the renewal; then, for carrying out this renewal too slowly; for our stubbornness, for making concessions. It depends on the mood at the time. I must say that I myself at times think--and I must find an answer for myself because in the end man must have an aim of some sort, must do a great deal of work and do this with conviction--of what we have succeeded in achieving for the country in these months despite various errors and slips.

I must say that I find at least three great areas of issues which this leadership, together with the party, can place on record. It is precisely this leadership that chose political means to solve the crisis and which, with perseverance, acts by these very means despite enormous difficulties. At times a hellish patience is indeed needed to remain on this path. The second issue is the fact that we have chosen the path of socialist renewal and that we are gradually implementing this renewal. We have survived in the end all together: we have been in the party for 10 months without jeopardizing its safety, and this has also been a serious task.

Perhaps today, when we are all living in the fever of work and discussion, the truths that we have spoken of are not sufficiently noticed. However, I do not fear the historical assessment of these very issues. [applause]

Expulsion Requested

LD281328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The first round of the Wroclaw Voivodship party report-back and election conference has ended. The conference elected 46 delegates to the ninth party congress, among them Zdzislaw Balicki, chairman of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. The Wroclaw party organization will be represented at the ninth congress by 58 delegates, since 12 delegates were previously elected directly by the biggest works of that voivodship.

The delegates moved a motion addressed to the Central Party Control Commission asking for the expulsion from the party of Ludwik Drozdz, member of the Central Committee and former first secretary of the Wroclaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, for having victimized party members, and workers of the Wroclaw industrial plants after the events of 1976. The conference approved this resolution and demanded that the Central Party Control Commission deal with it promptly and thoroughly. The second round of the conference will be held on 4 July.

Bydgoszcz Conference

LD271216 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] A few minutes after 0800 the voivodship programmatic and election conference of the PZPR opened in Bydgoszcz.

Three hundred and eighty-five delegates representing the more than 97,000 members and candidate members of the party in Bydgoszcz Voivodship are taking part in the conference. It is worth adding that the delegates include 92 workers and 38 farmers, and 324 delegates are taking part in a voivodship conference for the first time. The invited guests include Prof Henryk Jablonski, member of the Politburo of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, member of the party Central Committee.

It should be stressed that during a meeting preceding the conference fundamental procedural matters were resolved. In the past these matters had taken the most time. It was thus decided, among other things, that only delegates have the right to be elected to the authorities. Candidates for the plenum of the voivodship committee, the voivodship Party Control Commission and the voivodship Auditing Commission were also nominated. However, the first secretary of the voivodship party committee will be elected by the whole conference from among those candidates nominated by the plenum.

During the conference a telegram was read. In this telegram the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee asks that the following be put on the list of candidates for delegates to the ninth congress: Eugeniusz Stawinski, a veteran of the workers' movement [and member of the PZPR Central Auditing Commission]; Henryk Pozoga, vice minister of internal affairs [as heard]; Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade union relations; and Gen Henryk Kondas, deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District [as heard].

(Bogdan Michalak), chairman of the election commission, told the conference delegates that he had spoken on the telephone with Comrade Stanislaw Kania, who had personally supported these nominations and asked the delegates to put these four people on the list of candidates for delegates to the ninth congress.

After a short discussion, in which people spoke both in favor of and against this proposal and after Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said, among other things, that this request had been prompted by the general interest of the whole party, a majority vote decided that the four comrades proposed by the Central Committee Secretariat could be put on this list.

A telegram from the Cherkasskaya Oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine has arrived for the conference participants. It wishes the delegates fruitful work, success in the struggle for the common interests of the socialist community and for the development of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. The conference continues.

After nominations for the authorities and for congress delegates are submitted, elections will be held and discussions will get underway.

Program Report, Discussion

LD272322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Courage and responsibility for the fate of the party and the country--these are briefly the characteristics of the Bydgoszcz conference which was in session since 0800.

The program report was delivered by Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the voivodship committee, who stated among other things: [Begin Bednarski recording] In order to preserve its revolutionary character the party must be based on honest and modest people who possess great intellectual and moral qualities. Unfortunately the past has proven that this was not always the case. Meanwhile one has to remember, and I think this is right, that the party authority cannot be built by means of propaganda because authority is built above all by the attitudes of each party member. For this reason the struggle for the quality of the party ranks, for eliminating from the party people who abuse their party affiliation, who see alleged privileges and neither duties nor the great responsibility, is assuming a new topicality.

We in the party and in the community must further establish the conviction that it was not socialistm that let one down but the practice of the implementation of the principles of the socialist construction; that it was not the party that let us down but specific people. [end recording]

Next a discussion began in which those who spoke first stressed the need to change the style of party owrk. The socialist path cannot be undermined it was said and the permanence of our political alliances was discussed.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated in the discussion that the party was slowly coming out of the crisis; however, he was not surprised that some comrades were returning to the causes of its springing up. This is all the more reason, the deputy premier said, why it is high time to start talking of the future. The party congress will be of great significance in this respect. We also stated that the 11th plenum played an important part in the consolidation of the party. He also highly evaluated the party voivodship organization and thanked it for the active stance of party members.

The participants in the Bydgoszoz session received a telegram with wishes from the friendly oblast committee of the Communist Part of the Ukraine in Cherkasskiy. In reply [word indistinct] brotherly greetings were sent together with an assurance that the anxiety for coming out from the crisis and socialist development of our fatherland is the primary motive of the program which the Bydgoszcz conference will adopt. The session continues.

Rakowski Remarks Reported

LD290542 Warsaw PAP in English 1722 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Speaking at the PUWP programme and election conference in Bydgoszoz yesterday, Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said among other things:

All PUWP members pin great hopes on the coming congress, the results of which depend, first of all, on the political and [word indistinct] maturity of its delegates. If its debates are marked by disputes, they will bring no good. On the other hand, the congress should map out a programme at least outlining a future socio-economic policy. One should make the party an organization which would be a fighting one and also aware of its dangers and goals.

"The 9th PUWP Congress must prove to all opponents that their hopes for weakening the PUWP are illusory and that a sharp political struggle will be waged against them.

"Commenting on the outcome of the 11th PUWP CC plenary meeting and the CPSU CC's letter, the vice-premier viewed them as important events which changed an atmosphere in the party and paved the road for a constructive growth in political activity promoting the formulation of [words indistinct].

"One of the PUWP's most important tasks consists in restoring Poland's credibility vis-a-vis the world. Still not all party members want to perceive that they are burdened with great responsibility before the international working class movement and the world's entire left-wing. The world follows developments in Poland with great concern. All of us must be aware that the situation in Poland is inseparably connected with the European peace.

Rakowski also dealt extensively and at length on the party and the state's relations to solidarity.

Referring to recent interviews and statements made by Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders, the vice-premier criticized their attitude of superiority and disdain to representatives of the authorities, which is incompatible with a concept of partnership.

In order to further develop mutual relations, it is indispensible for Solidarity leaders to abandon their superior tone and assume greater responsibility for the common party called Poland than they have done so far. To Solidarity, we propose a policy of keeping with the line of agreement and dialogue, Rakowski said.

Congress Delegates Elected

LD281308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] The Bydgosczc Voivodship party programmatic and election conference resumed its deliberations today. The conference is attended by Henryk Jablonski, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Council of State.

The conference elected a 121-member voivodship PZPR committee, a voivodship Party Control Commission and a voivodship Auditing Commission. The results of the first round of elections for delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress were reported. Among others, Stanislaw Ciosek, member of the Central Committee and minister for trade union relations; Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the resigning voivodship committee in Bydgoszcz; and Maj Gen Henryk Kondas, deputy commander of the Pomeranian Military District, were elected delegates.

Jablonski Remarks

LD290333 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Jun (PAP)--Two-day debates of the PUWP programme and election Bydogszcz Voivodship conference came to an end this evening.

Henryk Bednarski was re-elected by secret ballot as voivodship committee first secretary. Elected were also 52 delegates to the 9th congress, among them member of the CC, Minister for Trade Unions Stanislaw Ciosek and Henryk Bednarski.

Taking the floor during the conference in Bydgoszcz, member of the Political Bureau, President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski stressed that alongside party members, also allied forces from outside the PUWP are discussing the most important matters of the country during the pre-congress campaign.

However, participating in the debate are also ideological enemies of the party, who are trying to use this sincere debate to weaken the party, destroy statepower, sow social chaos and confusion, people who want to prove that the socialist system is defective and cannot be reformed.

In the present situation the point is to restore the strength of the state, consolidate people's rule and consistently pursue renewal, to which there is no alternative road but the one mapped by the resolutions of the 6th PUWP CC Plenum. A consistent execution of renewal is fully feasible, but in order to attain this goal we need a strong party, which will consolidate its unity and the offensive character of its activity to become a genuine leading force in the society, Jablonski went on.

Democracy is first of all the society's lasting right to share in the government. Socialist democracy is inseparably linked to the leading role of the party and broad self-government of the citizens.

Properly conceived democratic centralism is a guarantee of the right character of inter-party life. In practice, the proper realization of it depends first of all on the knowledge and ideological level of party members, raising the rank of elected bodies, and especially the strengthening of basic party organizations, said Henryk Jablonski.

He said in conclusion that the 9th congress should restore social confidence in the party which will result in the consolidation of the party and Poland's increased credibility among here socialist allies and other countries.

More on Jablonski

LD290442 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Excerpts] In secret ballot, out of three candidates, the post of first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Byogoszcz has been entrusted again to Dr Henryk Bednarski.

At the end of the discussion, Henryk Jablonski, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, took the floor:

[Begin recording] The battle is still in progress for the party, for its unity, for its ability to act as a causative force directing socialist renewal. In essence, this is the most profound sense of all our present actions. Respected comrades, please turn your attention to the perfidious manner in which--by various kinds of widely disseminated, spiteful stock phrases, by slogans supposed to sound patriotic but which undermine our political system--scheming is conducted against the party and against our social system.

There is much of this, and there is no sense quoting the slogans. It's a waste of time. One example is enough: Namely, the slogan that is said by certain circles repeatedly and with delight--Renewal, so that Poland Should Be Poland! And so, it's about renewal and about Poland, except that at the same time there is an implied meaning that the present Poland is not Poland. Even one of the speeches here had a distant echo of this pseudo-philosophy.

And to whom is this addressed? To us, we who have grown out of the 100 year struggle for the national and social liberation of the Polish people? To the party which devised the only effective program for the liberation of Poland from the Hitlerite occupation, and which--thanks to the Soviet support--returned to Poland the western lands which suffered slavery for 600 years? This is addressed to a party under whose leadership those lands were able to develop and have their Polish identity fully restored--the party which led the nation in rebuilding the country from ashes and ruins, which nationalized industry, which gave land to the peasants--we often forget about this--and the party which opened schools of all levels to all Polish children.

Let us look at the biographies of the contemporary Polish intelligentsia. Check how many of them are the children of workers, children of peasants. And this is being addressed to us, so that Poland should be Poland? The point is that the care for unity of action should prevail over the differences and that we should feel our enormous responsibility to our own nation, to the entire workers' movement; the responsibility for peace in Europe and the world. If the fate of the party is dear to anyone, let him not evoke artificial conflicts, let him not inflate the real--and more often, the imagined--difficulties. Artificially kindling passions when the party is still confronted with the monstrous job of breaking through the crisis in the party, the state, and the national economy does not serve anybody, except perhaps those who do not want renewal even if they have made the most beautiful declarations for it. [end recording]

Ney, Czyrek in Rzeszow

LD261722 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The debate at the Rzeszow party report-back and election conference began 2 hours ago.

Guests at the Rzeszow conference include Roman Ney, alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs; and Jozef Tejchma, member of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of culture and art.

Rzeszow, Lublin Continue

LD271004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpts] Voivodship conferences began today in Rzeszow, Lublin and Wroclaw. Over to our correspondents in Rszeszow and Lublin:

With the participation of 270 delegates representing the more than 44,000 members and candidate members of the party, the [Rszeszow] Voivodship programmatic and election conference of the PZPR started in the morning. Thanks to the regional meetings and discussions in groups dealing with specific issues which preceded the conference, organizational and agenda matters took up only half an hour, after which the agenda was embarked on. Franciszek Karp, until now first secretary of the voivodship party committee in Rzeszow, delivered a report on behalf of the outgoing executive.

Over the past 10 months more than 6,000 party members and candidate members in the voivodship have handed in their party cards. Of this number, 73 percent are workers and 9 percent are farmers. In addition, 34 basic and sectional party organizations have been disbanded. This is why the party's task today is to regain social confidence.

After the report, discussion began. Several delegates rose to speak, touching on among other things issues connected with agriculture, with the foodstuff economy, various types of construction and the whole sphere of social activity. The way the economic reform has been implemented so far was also discussed. After a few more speeches, nominations were put forward for the voivodship party authorities and for delegates to the ninth congress. Discussion then continued.

On Lublin, the supreme forum of the Lublin party organization--the 19th voivodship report-back and election conference of the PZPR--is holding a session. The 312 mandate holders elected at meetings in the primary echelons are representing the almost 70,000 members and candidate members of the party in Lublin Voivodship.

An introduction to the discussion, on behalf of the outgoing executive of the voivodship party committee, was delivered by Wladyslaw Kruk, until now first secretary of the voivodship party committee and candidate member of the Politburo of the party Central Committee. In his speech he assessed the 1 and 1/2 years in office of the voivodship party authorities in Lublin. He stated that the wave of critical proposals and demands by party members in Lublin Voivodship before the eighth congress had been confirmed last July and August. Today we are meeting as an aktiv of the voivodship party organization, said the speaker, which has started up what the country and party term the policy of agreement and the road of socialist renewal.

Those taking part in the conference submitted nominations for the voivodship party authorities and for delegates to the ninth party congress. Forty-two delegates will be representing Lublin Voivodship at the congress. Out of these the conference will elect 35. After a break for lunch, a discussion for which 60 speakers had already put down their names, began.

The discussion will continue tomorrow in accordance with the agenda.

Rzeszow Delegates Elected

LD271512 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] The second day of the voivodship programmatic and election conference of the PZPR in Rzeszow began today.

So far 22 delegates have spoken in the discussion. Apart from internal party matters they touched, above all, on matters pertaining to Rzeszow agriculture. So far 101 members of the voivodship committee and 24 delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress have been elected. These include the guest of the Rzeszow conference, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, and Franciszek Karp, until now first secretary of the voivodship committee. Today the first secretary will be elected from the members of the voivodship committee. More people will also be speaking in the discussion.

We have just heard that Franciszek Karp has been reelected first secretary of the voivodship committee in Rzeszow.

Ney Addresses Rzeszow

LD272300 Warsaw PAP in English 2044 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jun (PAP)--The PUWP programme and election conference came to an end in Rzeszow today. Franciszek Karp was reelected voivodship committee first secretary. Among the 24 delegates elected for the congress, there was Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek.

Participating in the conference was alternate member of the Political Bureau, CC Secretary Roman Ney. He said that the main instrument of work of our Marxist-Leninist party should be basic party organizations. Without looking up to the party top, those organizations should already now pay a lot of attention to the working out of a concrete plan for breaking the local impasse.

Socialist renewal should also be understood as consistent activity aimed at a consolidation of state bodies, strong and wise, on all levels of government, and the gaining of the trust of allies and all states with which Poland maintains relations. Alliance with the USSR and other socialist states is not only the reason of state, but a guarantee of the existence and development of our country.

The party is open to cooperation with all the forces in the country which are for the development of socialist Poland. We do not want to change our attitude to Solidarity. We want to correct mistakes together with it, but we cannot endorse extremism, Ney said.

Jagielski At Lublin Conference

LD261714 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpt] Punctually at 0900, the Lublin Voivodship PZPR report-back and election conference began. Present are representatives of the central party and economic authorities, led by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. The nearly 70,000-strong party organization is represented by 319 delegates. On behalf of the outgoing executive of the voivodship committee, a report was delivered by First Secretary Wladyslaw Kruk. The party debate is now about to start.

Lublin Conference Ends

LD280946 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Excerpt] The report-back and election conference in Lublin also ended today after 36 hours of deliberations. The conference was attended by representatives of the central leadership of the party and of our economy, including Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski, member of the Politburo of the party Central Committee. A position on key problems to be decided by the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress was adopted. The conference also adopted a resolution condemning any acts of hostility to the Soviet Union. Wladyslaw Kruk was reelected first secretary of the Lublin Voivodship PZPR Committee. He was also entrusted with the mandate of delegate to the ninth party congress.

Gdynia Secretary Elected

LD261146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The PZPR report-back and election conference in the Navy in Gdynia has elected Commander Zenon Dudziak as secretary of the party committee.

More on Gdynia

LD216222 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Excerpt] "The Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic will fulfill to the end their duty to the people, to the party and to the socialist homeland." It was under this slogan that the PZPR report-back and election conference of the Navy was working on 25 June.

The prime significance of traditions and the necessity of the inviolable firmness of the Polish-Soviet alliance and of the cooperation of all socialist countries was pointed out. A particular manifestation of this cooperation, and a factor in ensuring the security of our sea border, is the interaction in the Baltic between the Polish People's Republic Navy, the USSR Baltic Fleet and the GDR People's Navy.

Zdzislaw Kurowski spoke during the discussion. The Central Committee secretary numbered among the party's extremely important tasks the formation of Poland's position as a reliable link in the socialist community in the political, economic and military spheres, and also the struggle for the party's Marxist-Leninist character, ideological unity and organizational cohesion, and for the activity of all its members.

Przemysl Party Conference

LD271038 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1930 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] During the 2-day conference in Przemysl, intraparty matters have dominated. It was stressed that the observance of the jurisdiction of individual echelons is essential. This will strengthen their status and at the same time the authority of the whole party. A great deal of time was devoted to matters connected with the election of delegates to the congress. It was stated that the delegate's mandate is not just an honor but above all a great responsibility, for the comrades in whom trust has been placed will determine the future share of the country and of the party.

At the end of the session three resolutions here passed. The first condemned the desecration of the monument of gratitude to the soldiers of the Soviet Army and the monument to General Swierczewski. The other resolutions express support for the political policy of the 11th plenum and precisely define the part to be played by the voivodship party echelons in the implementation of political and socioeconomic tasks.

Walbrzych Party Conference

LD262324 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1737 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The voivodship party committee gathered for a plenary session in Walbrzych. Marek Szewczyk reports:

The plenary deliberations of the voivodship party committee began with a minute's silence in memory of the miners who were killed in two successive accidents which took place last Friday and Saturday at the Victoria Mine in Walbrzych. One of the most important subjects were the provocative--as the members of the voivodship committee put it--incidents which took place in Swidnica, (Mokrzyszow) and Strzegom.

During the night of Wednesday to Thursday, the Soviet soldiers' cemetery in Swidnica was desecrated. The unidentified perpetrators painted with oil paints and with (?aniline ink) anti-Soviet slogans and swastikas on tombstones and monuments. Similar slogans also appeared on buildings in Swidnica. Yesterday, a monument was daubed with oil paint in (Mokrzyszoh). And last night the monument of gratitude in Strzegom was daubed with black paint [word indistinct]. This is a town which was liberated on two occasions by the Soviet Army in the last war.

The inhabitants of Walbrzych Voivodship are indignant about these incidents. The executives of the municipal committees in Strzegom and Swidnica have conveyed expressions of regret to the commands of the Soviet units stationed in these towns. The soldiers of these units have been actively helping local enterprises on many occasions in transportation operations. The members of the plenum expressed concern over the low efficiency of the public law and order agencies.

In the final part of the plenum, an executive of the voivodship committee was elected. It consists of 25 comrades.

Poznan Party Conference

LD262118 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The participants in the PZPR report-back and election conference which ended today in Poznan, in which Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, took part, adopted a statement on its stance regarding the USSR Supreme Soviet appeal addressed to the parliaments and nations of the world on strengthening peace among the nations. Peace--we read in the document that was adopted--represents a priceless value for every Polish family, for it was paid for by millions of human beings buried as a result of World War II. The Polish nation has not yet erased from its memory the crimes of genocide. Not for one moment has it let up in the intransigent struggle for the right to live in peace. Thus we accept the appeal of the USSR Supreme Soviet as an expression of our most vital aims too. In formulating this stance we take account of the fact that the parliament of our fatherland has the right to expect of us a unanimous declaration of solidarity.

The results have been announced of the elections to the voivodship committee, the voivodship Party Control Commission and the voivodship Audit Commission. Sixty-three delegates to the ninth party congress were elected. Along with 13 delegates elected directly by party organizations at the largest work enterprises, they will represent the organizations of Poznan Voivodship at this supreme party forum. Of the delegates to the congress recommended by the Politburo the following were elected: Stanislaw (Zadkowski), chief commander of the Citizens' Militia, and Gen Edward Lukasik, deputy Air Force commander.

Grabski Speech in Poznan

LD271044 Warsaw PAP in English 0833 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jun (PAP)--Member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee Tadeusz Grabski took the floor at the Poznan party conference. He said, among other things:

"The political situation is deteriorating and the threat to the socialist system from external and internal factors persists. Destablization undermines Poland's credibility as a partner in the socialist communuty of states. Reconstruction and preservation of our credibility is a necessary prerequisite for Poland becoming a strong link of the socialist community.

These problems were deeply assessed by the 11th PUWP CC Plenum whose decisions expressed the will to continue renewal. The plenum's resolution, firmly emphasizing the threat to the socialist system, has also become a directive for all party organizations and all party members. The attitude to the resolution and active participation in its implementation is the necessary confirmation of PUWP membership. The plenum supported the letter from the OPSU Central Committee to the PUWP Central Committee which speaks of the Polish-Soviet friendship as the foundation of security of our country and a propitious premise for its further development. Our entire party has received with understanding the letter from the Soviet comrades.

We must do everything in our power to extinguish the escalation of the anti-Soviet wave in our country fanned by irresponsible elements which play recklessly with the interest of the Polish nation, Grabski said.

Characterizing the course of the to date pre-congress campaign and conferences, Grabski said that their value lies in revitalizing the inner party life, but also negative phenomena occur. Among them Grabski listed the steadily decreasing numbers of workers in the composition of the newly elected authorities and certain ideological imbalance in the party. "We are noticing a weakening of the functioning of state rule, a decline of its authority, a slackened social discipline and the emergence of threats to public order,"Grabski said.

Lodz Congress Delegates Meet

LD271108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The first meeting of Lodz Voivodship delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress has been held in Lodz. The agenda included both substantive and organizational matters. The draft electoral rules for the extraordinary party congress, [word indistinct] proposals concerning the numerical forces of party leadership and issue teams were discussed, as were the best possible ways to prepare the substance of delegates' speeches in order to use the time in the best possible way and with the greatest benefit; a duty roster of teams composed of several people each will be prepared, and telephone or personal contacts with them will allow further participation, through (?closed consultations in the preparations for the congress.

A 9-member working team was elected from the 79 Lodz City-Voivodship delegates to the congress. The team is led by the first secretary of the Lodz PZPR Committee, Tadeusz Czechowics, and is to ensure coordination of working teams and other activities connected with preparations for the congress.

OFFICIALS SPEAK AT ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION SESSIONS

Gabrielski Faults Political Fight

AU261155 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jun 81 p 2

[Bogumila Kamlerowa report on speech by Stanislaw Gabrielski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Secretariat, at the 20 June accountability-election conference of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Lomza]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the conference, Comrade Stanislaw Gabrielski devoted much attention to the issues of party unity and to the struggle for the party's Marxist-Leninist character. He said that the party wants to solve the crisis through social accord and dialogue and to use political methods of relaxing tension. The situation can be repaired if the party engages in the political struggle against manifestations of its own disintegration and against its external enemies and the views hostile to it. As things are now, the political fight against those views is inadequate.

At the same time, Comrade S. Gabrielski said that the genuine character of party life was being restored, as attested to by discussions full of enthusiasm and concern for the entire country's affairs. The point is to translate into deeds those rich discussions. Party life is proceeding in keeping with new democratic principles. We have developed a mechanism of social control over party life and we must refine and strengthen that mechanism. In this struggle we must rely more firmly on the workers' party aktivs and bear in mind that the workers class is and will be a source of the party's strength. S. Gabrielski also stressed the issue of strengthening Polish-Soviet friendship and the need to resolutely and universally counter all attempts to undermine that friendship.

Every party echelon, he stressed in conclusion, should produce plans for implementing the 11th plenum resolutions, because we already hear people saying that although there is a document, there is no action.

Cypryniak Foresees Struggle

AU261253 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 81 p 2

[Andrzej Leszczynski and Ryszard Zatorski report on speech by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Cypryniak at the 21-22 June accountability-election conference of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnobrzeg--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] Speaking during the conference, K. Cypryniak said among other things: The process that we call renewal has been going on for a year now, and it is time to estimate how it is consistent with society's expectations, what we have achieved and what we intend to achieve. We intend to extricate the economy from its crisis and renew social conditions, a task that will determine the image of our socialist state and our national existence. The stakes are high, and that is why we must not make any errors. The entire party and all the participants in the present renewal must be aware of those stakes.

Not all party members take the same position on the phenomena that came to light after last August, and one can see weaknesses and even dangers in these differences. That is why it is necessary to sort out evaluations in order to work out a program.

Speaking of the past, K. Cypryniak said that one must not deny our achievements wholesale. Nevertheless, we have to agree that errors were made in the running of the economy and the state in the seventies and that this brought about the crisis that the leaders in those years--E. Gierek and P. Jaroszewicz—were unable to overcome.

THE AUGUST PROTEST OF THE WORKERS CLASS WAS NATURAL AND WAS MORALLY JUSTIFIED. THE PRESENT DEMANDS FOR BRINGING TO ACCOUNT THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CRISIS AND ABUSES MUST BE FULLY AND CONSISTENTLY MET. That is not only a moral and legal problem, but also a political problem. If we want to really renew our party, we must eliminate the mechanisms that produce evil and practices in conflict with socialist ideals. The process of squaring accounts must be prosecuted on the basis of evidence and in keeping with justice and the law.

We know the reasons for the present crisis, so now we should draw the necessary conclusions to prevent such conflicts in the future.

It is high time to extricate the economy from its catastrophic situation. We must realize that no one will take care of our food problems. It is we who have to rescue ourselves.

K. Cypryniak said that the most urgent tasks included streamlining the economy, implementing the economic reform and finding a way to ensure that, despite a shorter working week, the extraction industries can work continuously.

Political stabilization is an important factor. We must counter the efforts of irresponsible or outright hostile elements to incite public opinion and to fan anti-Soviet moods, which are actually directed against our national interests.

WE MUST NOT AGREE TO ATTEMPTS TO DRAW "SOLIDARITY" INTO POSITIONS OF ANTIPARTY, ANTI-SOCIALIST POLICY. Solidarity, which totals some millions of people is a trade union of the workers class. We must not allow those people to be lost for the party and socialism.

SPEAKING OF THE NINTH CONGRESS, K. CYPRYNIAK SAID THAT IT WILL BE A DIFFICULT CONGRESS. We must elect new authorities and confirm the party's credibility by the quality of the program we will adopt. The congress will have to make personal changes and introduce fresh and young people into the bodies of power.

THE CONGRESS WILL ALSO SEE A STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY'S POLITICAL LINE AND MARXIST CHARACTER. IT IS WORTH REMEMBERING THAT IT IS NOT SYSTEMS THAT CREATE PARTIES, BUT THAT PARTIES CREATE SYSTEMS. That is why, if we want to consistently develop socialism, we must preserve the party's Marxist character and follow the principles of democratic centralism.

In conclusion Comrade K. Cypryniak answered many questions put to him from the floor on internal party life and the activities of the Politburo and central party authorities.

PARTY TO INVITE REPRESENTATIVES TO CONGRESS

NC271658 Paris AFP in English 1648 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jun (AFP)--The Polish Unified Workers' Party (Communist) is to invite representatives from all ruling communist parties to attend its 9th general congress meeting on July 14, well-informed sources said here today.

But whether the guests will attend is still uncertain as many allied parties fear that Polish liberal communists may dominate the congress. The guests' attendance will partly depend on the outcome of elections to pick the 1,967 Polish congress delegates, sources here said.

According to sources close to the Foreign Ministry, the Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechoslovaks and East Germans have written this week to Polish First Secretary Stanislaw Kania to explain their reticence, in line with this month's warning from Moscow that the Polish party should guard itself from "counter-revolutionaries".

The press here reported that Mr Kania received separate messages from Hungarian leader Janos Kadar and Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov Monday, and one from the East Germans Tuesday.

Romania, whose leader Nicolae Ceausescu yesterday renewed his support for Polish "socialist renewal", would thus be one of the few Warsaw Pact countries not to have taken part in this "campaign of intimidation" which coincides with the announcement that joint Polish-Soviet military maneouvres are underway.

Since the last Polish plenum meeting, comments made by the press in neighbouring countries have been less harsh, according to observers here. The Soviet NOVOSTI news agency noted Thursday that Poland was "on the eve of a party congress", and that "millions of Poles awaited its decisions as a tonic for a decisive change".

On the same day, the Bulgarian Young Communists' newspaper NORODNA MLADEJ said that the policy of negotiations between the government and trade unions was the only worthwhile issue for Poland.

Confirmation that Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was to visit West Germany some time this year was also viewed as a good sign here, as it seemed unlikely such a trip would be considered along with invasion plans.

For many observers, West Germany plays a key role in the Polish imbroglio. A recent pacifist upsurge within West Germany's ruling Social Democratic Party must be seen as a positive by Moscow, where it must also be realized that any intervention in Poland would quash the new mood.

"If it weren't for U.S. President Ronald Reagan's policy towards the Soviet Union, we would have a much better margin for maneouver to end the crisis," a Polish leader recently noted.

TRYBUNA LUDU DISCUSSES PARTY'S SOCIAL CHARACTER

LD261300 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 26 Jun 81

[From the press review]

[Text] I will begin with an article in TRYBUNA LUDU entitled: "There Is No Workers' Party Without Workers' Authorities." Certain processes taking places in the party clearly show a change in its social character, (Wloozimierz Milanowski) writes. An enormous percentage of those leaving the party are workers. Workers are leaving not only because they condemn party policy; they are leaving because they feel bad, strange, alien in their ranks; because there is starting to be no room for them in the party.

The idea at present in the party is to overcome the obstacles to full participation of workers in political activity. This is the meaning of the whole political, ideological, upbringing and also organizational work of the party. Among the many tasks to be solved before the congress we must not forget about (?these). They will, after all, delimit the content of our work in successive periods of the history of the nation. There is no workers' party without workers, the author concludes his article. There is no communist party without a persistent struggle for worker goals and values. There is no communist and worker's party without workers in all its echelons, at all levels of decisionmaking.

WARSAW COMMENTS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF PARTY REFORM

LD261956 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Boleslaw Broszczak commentary]

[Text] The course of the election and programmatic conferences confirm the justification of the hopes connected with the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. This justification is based on the attempts to give specific shape to the party program and also on the consolidation of party ranks and on the increasing cooperation between individual links and echelons.

However, one must remember that the congress will only create a program guaranteeing a way out of the crisis and ensuring that deformations and degeneration are not repeated in the future. This will only be a framework of action which each of us must tackle. The success of socialist renewal will depend not only on the program but on its daily implementation by the people. Thus, one must state clearly that this requires great initiative by every party member and cooperation among all the people to whom the well-being of a Socialist Poland is important. Broad cooperation among all civic forces will be of decisive importance for the future of the country. This is being said more and more widely. In this context one must take a closer look at the discussion taking place in the party.

On the one hand we have a critical undercurrent, the expansion of intraparty democracy, the need to introduce a correct cadre policy and the existence of guarantees ensuring the permanence of socialist renewal. On the other there is the need to refer to, and sometimes also to remind people of, the great achievements of People's Poland.

Let us present the matter clearly. This means not only our achievement and those of our fathers, but also the historic achievements contained in the struggle and work of many generations of the working class, peasants and intelligentsia which no one can undermine apart from the enemies of Poland.

Last year's crisis was not the first in the postwar history of our country. But that crisis, just as the previous ones, did not stem from socialism. The reason was the departure from the principles of socialism--breaking and distorting those principles. One must criticize and remove people because it is they and not the system who are responsible. But one must remember that the most important matter for the country is to find a way out of the present torpor and to (?overcome) it. There are many tasks for everyone--both for party and nonparty members, in the economic and social spheres. We must become aware that the development of consumption must be linked inseparably not only with an increase in production but also with an improvement in quality. We must switch to a thrifty and conscientious economy and make maximum use of our tremendous human and organizational resources. In a nutshell, we must switch to thinking in modern economic terms. These are not popular slogans but they are becoming understandable to an increasing number of Poles.

We should remember one thing: the ninth congress will not transport us, as by the wave of a magic wand, from a crisis into an oasis of prosperity. It will map out a program and create institutional guarantees for the principles of socialism. But these will be fulfilled only through the work of all of us.

WALESA SAYS SOLIDARITY WILL NOT BE POLITICAL PARTY

LD271052 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Jun (PAP)--The Solidarity has no aspirations to be a political party; on the contrary, its task is to solve a host of social problems of its members, Lech Walesa, chairman of the Solidarity's National Consultative Commission, told a rally in Koszalin's amphitheatre today, and stressed the importance of honest work.

He condemned acts of difilement of monuments and places commemorating the Soviet soldiers who died for the liberation of this country.

WALESA SAYS TIME OF CONFRONTATION IS OVER

LD272158 Warsaw PAP in English 2048 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jun (PAP)--Head of national Solidarity Lech Walesa met with Solidarity members of the Swierczewski plant and representatives of several other factories here.

Walesa stressed that the time of confrontation is over. He said once again that the social demands and the agreements signed [word indistinct] be renegotiated.

Speaking about the election campaign under way in Solidarity, he emphasized the need for unity. Solidarity is an employee movement and only employees can decide about its work. No one else can lead the movement.

SOLIDARITY ELECTIONS CONCLUDED IN MAZOWSZE REGION

LD290852 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 29 Jun 81

[Text] The NSZZ Solidarity elections in the Mazowsze region ended late last night. Zbigniew Bujak was elected chairman of the Central Board. He is an electrical engineer at the Ursus mechanical works and held the post of chairman until now.

SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE DELEGATION SEES AL-AHMAR

AU261935 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1750 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Jun (AGERPRES)--The Romanian delegation that participates in the International Conference of Solidarity with Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization was received by Abdullah al-Ahmar, assistant secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party.

On behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu, the Romanian chief delegate conveyed a message of salute to Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Abdullah al-Ahmar reqeusted that friendly greetings be conveyed to President Nicolae Ceausescu from President Hafiz al-Asad. He pointed out that Syria was highly appreciative of the Romanian head of state's constructive stand on the peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict with a view to reaching a global, just and lasting settlement. He also highlighted the high principles and practical value of the Romanian president's message to the International Conference of Solidarity with Syria and the PLO, stressing that the document is another expression of the Romanian head of state's steady concern for the cause of peace and security in the region and the world over.

While reference was made to the good relations between Romania and Syria, emphasis was placed on the fact that they were underlain by the close friendship between the leaders of the two parties and states whose meetings, which have become traditional, opened up each time new possibilities for the expansion and intensification of collaboration on a political, economic and cultural plane, to mutual interest, as well as for international cooperation in view of conjugating the efforts in the struggle for all peoples' independence and peace.

OIL CONVENTIONS SIGNED WITH MEXICO IN BUCHAREST

AU271423 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 27 Jun (AGERPRES)--Conventions on collaboration between scientific institutions in Romania and Mexico, regarding the development of the technical and scientific activity in oil and gas, oil refining and petrochemistry, were signed in Bucharest on Friday June 26. The conventions, which cover the 1981-1985 interval, stipulate the development of collaboration between the two countries in intensely recovering oil from deposits, stimulating the production flow of big-depth wells and off-shore drilling rigs.

GNA CHAIRMAN HAS TALKS WITH ITALIAN OFFICIALS

AU271425 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0920 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Rome, 27 Jun (AGERPRES)--Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA], had an interview with Nilde Jotti, presdient of the Chamber of Deputies of Italy.

During the talk held on the occasion the two sides pointed with satisfaction to the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two parliaments expressing their wish to develop and expand those relations for the benefit of strengthening the traditional Romanian-Italian links of friendship. They also highlighted the importance of the international activity of parliaments and parliamentarians for the ensurances of a climate of peace and understanding among nations, for the building of a better and more just world.

Nicolae Giosan also had an interview with Amintore Fanfani, president of the Senate, when questions relating to the steadily ascending course of the relations of friendship and of manysided collaboration between the two countries and peoples were approached, stress being laid on the concrete contribution of the Italian Senate and the Grand National Assembly that have established and developed relations of close collaboration.

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES SWEDISH MINISTER OF INDUSTRY

AU261930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Jun (AGERPRES)--On June 26 Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu received Hils Asling, minister of industry of Sweden, now visiting Romania.

The call occasioned an exchange of warm salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Thorbjorn Falldin.

During the interview the sides have pointed with satisfaction to the fact that the relations between Romania and Sweden have been amplified and deepened in recent years, and have reasserted the belief that these friendly relations would continously expand and enrich, in the spirit of the orientations and agreements established during the Romanian-Swedish summit dialogue.

In this framework the sides highlighted the results marked in the plane of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and mentioned the ways and means meant to stimulate further the mutually advantageous collaboration between Romania and Sweden. The sides showed the joint wish to capitalize ever better the possibilities offered by the potential of the two countries' economies, in view of improving and diversifying the trade exchanges, of expanding the cooperation in important economic branches--such as machine building, metallurgy, chemistry--as well as on third markets. The sides considered the intensification of this collaboration to bear a positive influence on the development of the Romanian-Swedish good relations, to serve the cause of peace and cooperation among nations.

PEOPLE'S COUNCILS CONGRESS CONTINUES 26 JUN

AU261020 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Summary] "The Second Congress of the Working People's Councils in Industry, Transportation, Goods Turnover and Finance resumed this morning in plenary session under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu".

Various delegates addressed the plenum and discussed issues concerning Romania's socio-economic development goals in the current 5-year plan, increasing overall economic efficiency and raising the people's well-being. The congress proceeding continue.

CEAUSESCU VISITS AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

AU271804 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Summary] "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, this morning paid a working visit to the Fundulea Research Institute for Grain and Industrial Plants, Calarasi County. The party secretary general was accompanied on this visit by Comrades Emil Bobu; Gheorghe Oprea; Angelo Miculescu, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of agriculture and food industry; Ion Avram, minister of machine-building industry, and Vasile Martin, first secretary of the Calarasi County Party Committee [as heard]."

This new visit forcefully demonstrates our party and state leader's concern with raising this basic branch of the Romanian national economy to the level of requirements set forth by the 12th party congress and by the current 5-year plan.

POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES ON VISIT

LD281654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG)--Polish Foreign Minister Jozef Czyrek today arrived on an official and friendly visit to our country which will last for several days.

At Belgrade Airport Minister Czyrek was welcomed by Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs; Sava Obradovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs; and by a group of officials from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Muhidin Begic, Yugoslav ambassador to Poland, and Wiktor Kinecki, Polish ambassador to the SFRY, and other embassy officials were also there to welcome him.

LJUBICIC'S TALKS WITH HUNGARY'S CZINEGE END

LD282106 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG)--Lajos Czinege, minister of national defense of the Hungarian People's Republic, who has paid an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia and its Armed Forces at the head of a Hungarian military delegation, and at the invitation of Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, federal secretary for national defense, ended his visit today and left our country.

Following a visit of several days by the Hungarian military delegation to commands and institutions of the SFRY Armed Forces, meaningful meetings and cordial and friendly talks in every setting and at every level,--as stressed in the final talks--a positive assessment was made today of the development of traditionally successful and good cooperation between the armed forces of the two friends and neighbors. Also stressed was the mutual interest in further developing and consolidating bilateral relations. In their final talks, General Ljubicic and General Czinege expressed particular satisfaction and positively assessed and stressed the significance which both sides attach to the further development of Yugoslav-Hungarian friendship.

STATEMENT ISSUED ON TURKISH MINISTER'S VISIT

LD280329 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1733 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jun (TANJUG)--At the end of the official visit of the Turkish foreign minister, the following statement for the press has been released in Belgrade:

"At the invitation of Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, Ilter Turkmen, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Turkey, paid an official visit to Yugoslavia from 23 to 27 June 1981. A delegation of high-ranking officials accompanied the Turkish minister.

"During his stay in the SFRY, Ilter Turkmen was received by Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

"Ilter Turkmen visited the Social Republic of Bosnia--Hercegovina and the Social Republic of Macedonia. He had talks with Milanko Renovica, president of the Executive Council of the Social Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Blagoje Popov, president of the Executive Council of the Social Republic of Macedonia. During his visit to the Social Republic of Macedonia, Ilter Turkmen attended the unveiling of Kemal Ataturks' bust in Bitola in front of the former military school building in which Kemal Ataturk began his (?military education).

"During the official talks, which took place in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, Josip Vrhovec and Ilter Turkmen discussed the state of bilateral relations between the two countries and the possibilities for their further development. It was noted with satisfaction that the bilateral relations were developing to mutual benefit [words indistinct]. The two ministers stressed their government's readiness to promote cooperation in all spheres of mutual interest [words indistinct] useful cooperation in this sphere. In this context, the significance of Yugoslav-Turkish contacts and high level visits was stressed.

"The two ministers voiced concern about the serious worsening of the world situation. Both sides expressed their adherence to detente and they stressed that it was necessary now more than ever to make efforts to preserve the process of international negotiations and relaxation and the participation in this proces of all members of the international community. In this context, the significance of the successful conclusion of the conference in Madrid was stressed in the interest of the further development of cooperation and the strengthening of security in Europe and (?the world).

"The two ministers exchanged views on the further development of inter-Balkan cooperation, on the basis of good-neighborliness, as a significant element of regional stability within the framework of the principles and goals of the Helsinki Final Act.

"The two ministers stressed the usefulness of open and cordial talks and expressed the conviction that Minister Ilter Turkmen's visit and the talks held would provide a significant incentive to the further development of friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries.

"The Turkish Foreign Minister invited Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to pay an official visit to Turkey. Tbe invitation was accepted with pleasure."

SUNDIC COMMENTS ON EXTERNAL PRESSURES ON PZPR

LD261715 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Following the emergence of the so-called Katowice Party Forum, whose attitudes on the situation in the PZPR have been accepted by Poland's neighbors as constituting the basis of the best road to be followed by party leaderships throughout the country, including the Central Committee, two more such forums have appeared--in Poznan and in Warsaw. Though only 20 days remain until the extraordinary party congress, and only 4 until the end of the election campaign, the activities of these self-appointed party forums threaten to call into question the normal course and outcome of the congress and the course of the democratic renaissance. Faced with this phenomenon and with continuous reproaches from the outside, the impression at times is that the party and state leadership is finding it increasingly difficult to reconcile the two lines in the party--the one which it adopted at the latest extraordinary plenum of the Central Committee and the one which is operating in a pro forma manner within the framework of the party, in fact from factional positions against the party course.

The critics of the new course, though anonymous, have become the most vociferous champions of a return to the old road. They count on hesitations in the high echelons of the party and, even more, on support and sympathy from outside. True enough, it is already too late to make fundamental changes in the election of delegates for the extraordinary congress, and perhaps also in the election of the new Central Committee and Politburo, but his does mean that the critics of the new course will lay down their arms.

The coverage which they have been given in the press leads one to the conclusion that the present Politburo is not strong enough to oppose them, as it had been doing when the so-called Katowice Forum emerged, or perhaps that the press is not ready to follow the policy of the party leadership. If one bears in mind the fact that the pressures on Poland are not abating and that the so-called party forums are multiplying, nobody in Poland or outside can make up his mind about what will happen tomorrow. The possibility of an intervention is still discussed--that is nobody categorically asserts that it will not take place. It is truly difficult to maintain one's composure in such an atmosphere, even if there were no economic troubles.

The Polish leadership has, in fact, been placed in a situation in which it is justifying itself more to others than to its working class for the moves which it is taking in the political and economic spheres. And the more it does so, the more mistrust it engenders. Not even the fact that the contents of the letter from the CPSU Central Committee have been accepted as justified has helped to mitigate the suspicion about the Polish party. On the contrary, the impression is that new justifications are being found to increase pressure on the Polish party and state leadership.

The press of Poland's neighbors has not found a single nice word for the efforts which the PZPR is exerting to overcome the crisis, but the self-appointed party forums are receiving unreserved support. They are the so-called healthy forces which operate in collusion with forces outside the country and which, in critical moments, should play the role intended for them.

The most difficult aspects of the present Polish situation are that more is demanded from the leadership than it is able to do and that others think they are more competent to deal with the fate of Polish socialism than the Poles themselves. Equitable relations between Poland and its allies, however, can be maintained and preserved only on the condition that the PZPR resolve by itself the complex problems which bear upon it. Any extra-Polish [izvan-Poljako] solution of the crisis will lead not to its resolution, but to its exacerbation. Such a path should be avoided in the interest of peace and socialism.

TANJUG COMMENTS ON SOVIET CONCERN OVER POLAND

LD261400 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1138 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] Moscow, 26 June (by TANJUG correspondent Sava Bosanac)--With the date of the Polish party's special congress drawing nearer, the Moscow press starts launching again, after a brief lull, texts expressive of the well-known Soviet concern over the fate of socialism in Poland and Poland's place in the East European countries' military-political and economic alliance, thereby confirming that no relief has been felt were after the recent, extraordinary plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party.

According to the Soviet press, sombre reports are arriving from Warsaw. The crisis is too deep, writes the press here, the instability has spread to all important spheres of life.

In short, there is a "dangerous situation in the party and the country", according to a TASS report from Poland. The stand of the Poznan communists' forum that such state "can no longer be sustained", is again being cited.

The trade union Solidarity in a way always figures in the concepts here on the counter-revolution in Poland, although not all of its several-million membership, but its leaderships, i.e. forces described by Moscow as extremist. [sentence as received]

The question being asked in Moscow: "Why does the Polish United Workers' Party keep retreating?" implies a criticism of the Polish party leadership.

Moscow considers these days crucial for the future of Poland. The most important for Moscow at the moment is what will happen until the PUWP Congress and at the congress itself. There are no precise answers to this as yet. Warnings continue that the extremist forces wish to ensure such composition of the congress as might lead to the "degeneration of the Marxist-Leninist party", the split of the party, or even the forming of a social-democratic party.

In addition, PRAVDA again claims that each new day is bringing "new evidence of the imperialist interference in Polish events."

TANJUG VIEWS EFFECTS OF KOSOVO DISTURBANCES

LD261014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 26 Jun 81

[By Dusan Reljic]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jun (TANJUG)--The attempt at counterrevolution recently staged by Albanian irredentists in Yugoslavia's Province of Kosovo has prompted Yugoslavs to engage in a concrete and detailed analysis of the development of their society and at the same time gave a powerful impetus to their patriotism.

The growth of consciousness of the commonality of Yugoslav nations and nationalities was revealed at the recent congress of self-managers of Yugoslavia, at which the delegates of all nationalities firmly insisted on the strengthening of the country's unity and elimination of all regional barriers, political and economic.

Meanwhile, the intensity of the debate on the causes and effects of the brutal escalation of Albanian nationalism has not abated. In this context, the public attention focuses increasingly on the question of personal responsibility of local, as well as republican and federal state and party functionaries.

The newly-elected president of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, Veli Deva, has called for frank self-criticism and ideological offensive of communists in all spheres of politics, economy and culture.

Nobody must stay aside in the struggle against nationalism, pointed out Deva addressing a meeting of the Kosovo writers.

A war-time partisan in Kosovo, People's Hero Pavle Jovicevic, has warned explicitly that "there can be no progress until responsibility has been pinpointed" and that "there is reason for concern because attempts can be perceived to let the things go on as they did."

About twenty functionaries in Kosovo, including League of Communists leader Mahmut Bakali, have resigned their posts. Communal and municipal league organizations in the province indicate however that "a quicker, more determined and clear differentiation within the provincial leaderships would stir up political action in their environments."

The Yugoslav public has been informed in detail about developments in Kosovo as the information media, following the original blockage of news from the province, are reporting with complete openness.

Leader of the League of Communists of Serbia Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic has warned, however, that "certain newspapers and, especially, illustrated magazines have begun to act [words indistinct], to write in a sensationalistic vein." He asked that the information media present the situation as a whole, reporting also negative manifestations but also the increasingly visible positive trends. Accepting the remark that it has "exaggerated in some cases," the weekly NIN stated the impression that "the way in which Kosovo is being written of now ought probably to be applied in writing on all environments in Yugoslavia."

In spite of the fact that the regime of Enver Hoxha in Tirana is openly instigating the nationalists in Kosovo and trying in an appallingly primitive, unscrupulous way to interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, the view may be heard in Belgrade--along with condemnation of this conduct of Tirana--that bad neighbourly relations can only harm the interests of the peoples of the countries.

A senior federal functionary and one of the architects of Yugoslavia's foreign policy, Milos Minic, told foreign correspondents in Belgrade yesterday that "Yugoslavia has no interest in breaking off its cooperation with Albania. On the contrary, it wants this cooperation but wants it on a reciprocal basis."

Minic also warned that the present policy of the Albanian Government might give an encouragement to the blocs to try and realize "their global strategic objectives in the Balkans, the Adriatic and the Mediterranean."

The open and comprehensive discussions on political and economic problems which have intensified throughout Yugoslavia following the events in Kosovo and in the conditions of a crisis in international relations are already adding a new quality to the current preparations for the 12th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

The congress is scheduled for mid-1982.

An editorial in the party weekly KOMUNIST has detailed the task of the congress: to strengthen the quality and commonality of Yugoslavs because this is the "essential need" of Yugoslavia.

KOSOVO PRESIDIUM DISCUSSES ACTION PROGRAM

AU272018 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] It was announced today that the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo, at its session under the chairmanship of Veli Deva last night, discussed the activities so far in implementing the action program of the Provincial Committee and the further tasks in implementing its work, the plans of sector actions and further tasks of the Provincial Committee until the 13th Conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

KOSOVO TRADE UNION COUNCIL DISCUSSES PROGRAM

LD272216 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] The Council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo today discussed the activity of this sociopolitical organization in implementing the tasks stemming from the action program of the League of Communists in the struggle against enemy and counterrevolutionary forces, and for the stabilization of the political situation in the province. It was noted that in many working environments in the province, the process of ideopolitical differentiation is proceeding successfully. Enemy actions are condemned, their participants are exposed, and measures are taken for political and disciplinary responsibility. This activity, however, is not resolute enough in all environments. In individual organizations, persistent attempts are made to conceal the real state of affairs; this is particularly noticeable where a more energetic action by the League of Communists is not in evidence. This is the case, for instance in some work organizations of the power industry of Kosovo and at the Ramiz Sadiku Building Industry Combine in Pristina.

In the introductory report and in the debate, particular attention was paid to the tasks of trade unions in the struggle for implementing production obligations, without which, it was said, there can be no complete political stabilization either.

Elects New President

AU272133 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Excerpts] The Council of the Trade Union Federation of Kosovo has discussed the activities of this organization in implementing the tasks arising from the action program of the League of Communists of Kosovo in the struggle against hostile and counterrevolutionary forces in the province.

Sefcet Jasari was elected the new president of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation Council for the coming 1 year period.

PRISTINA ASSEMBLY DISCUSSES STRUGGLE AGAINST ENEMY FORCES

LD262020 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Jun 81

[Text] The Assembly of Pristina Municipality, at its joint session of all the chambers today, complemented the program of work for this year and coordinated it with the tasks which stem from the action program of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists on activity in the struggle against enemy and counterrevolutionary forces, and for the stabilization of the political situation in the province. It was agreed that the Assembly will discuss the organizational and cadre strengthening of the internal affairs organs and of the organs of national defense and social self-protection. Furthermore, it will analyze the causes of economic losses, discuss the phenomena of the exodus of Serbs and Montenegrins, determine measures to prevent a further exodus, and discuss the efficiency of the organs of administration in implementing their function. The discussion on the work of preschool institutions, of cultural institutions, and of cultural-artistic societies in the municipality was also included in the work of the Assembly.

PRISTINA COMMUNISTS NAME NEW PRESIDENT

LD271818 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 27 Jun 81

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jun (TANJUG)--The Municipal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists has discussed preparations for the forthcoming conference of the League of Communists organization in this municipality, scheduled for the first half of July, which will assess the past year's work of the Municipal Committee and conference.

In view of the fact that the 1-year mandate of Aslan Fazlija, the current president of the conference, is expiring, the Municipal Committee has proposed Nebi Gasi, vice president of the Kosovo Assembly, as the new president for the next 1-year term.

According to a statement, the Municipal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists relieved five of its members at their personal request. In order to refresh and strengthen the committee's cadres, it proposed that the number of the committee members be increased from 15 to 17. Thus, seven candidates have been proposed as new members of the committee, and consultations on them will be held by the basic League of Communists organizations in the municipality.

Veli Deva, president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo League of Communists, also attended today's session of the Municipal Committee of the Pristina League of Communists.

DJAKOVICA COMMUNISTS ACTING AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTION

LD282206 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Jun 81

[Zivorad Ivic dispatch from Pristina]

[Text] The activity of the League of Communists of Djakovica to implement the action program of the Kosovo League of Communists in the struggle against Albanian nationalism, irredentism and counterrevolution is unfolding in all environments. The fact that there were no enemy actions of major proportions in this town does not mean that the enemy is not present in this municipality too, and that it is not waiting for a propitious moment to act openly. The communists and all progressive forces in Djakovica bear this in mind because security organs on the territory of this municipality, 1 and 1/2 months after the escalation of national irredentism in Kosovo, have uncovered an underground enemy organization which operated on the platform of the Albanian Party of Labor and whose basic aim was to annex Kosovo to Albania.

However, neither the activity of the domestic enemy nor the intensive hostile propaganda from Albania found many supporters among inhabitants in this municipality. The Albanian policy toward Kosovo and toward our country was so transparent that it was not believed even before the events in Kosovo. Asim Dljuta, president of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Djakovica, has mentioned several such cases.

The management of the Tirana State Theater, during their guest performances in this town, were not allowed to open a book of impressions for the audiences of their program, while members of the Djakovica Theater in a demonstrative way interrupted their visit to Albania in 1978 because in a speech at that time Enver Hoxha attacked the personality of Comrade Tito.

However, even the knowledge of this does not diminish the vigor of the struggle of the League of Communists which here as indeed in all environments in Kosovo will go full length in unmasking and uncovering everything which is alien to the program and policy of the LCY.